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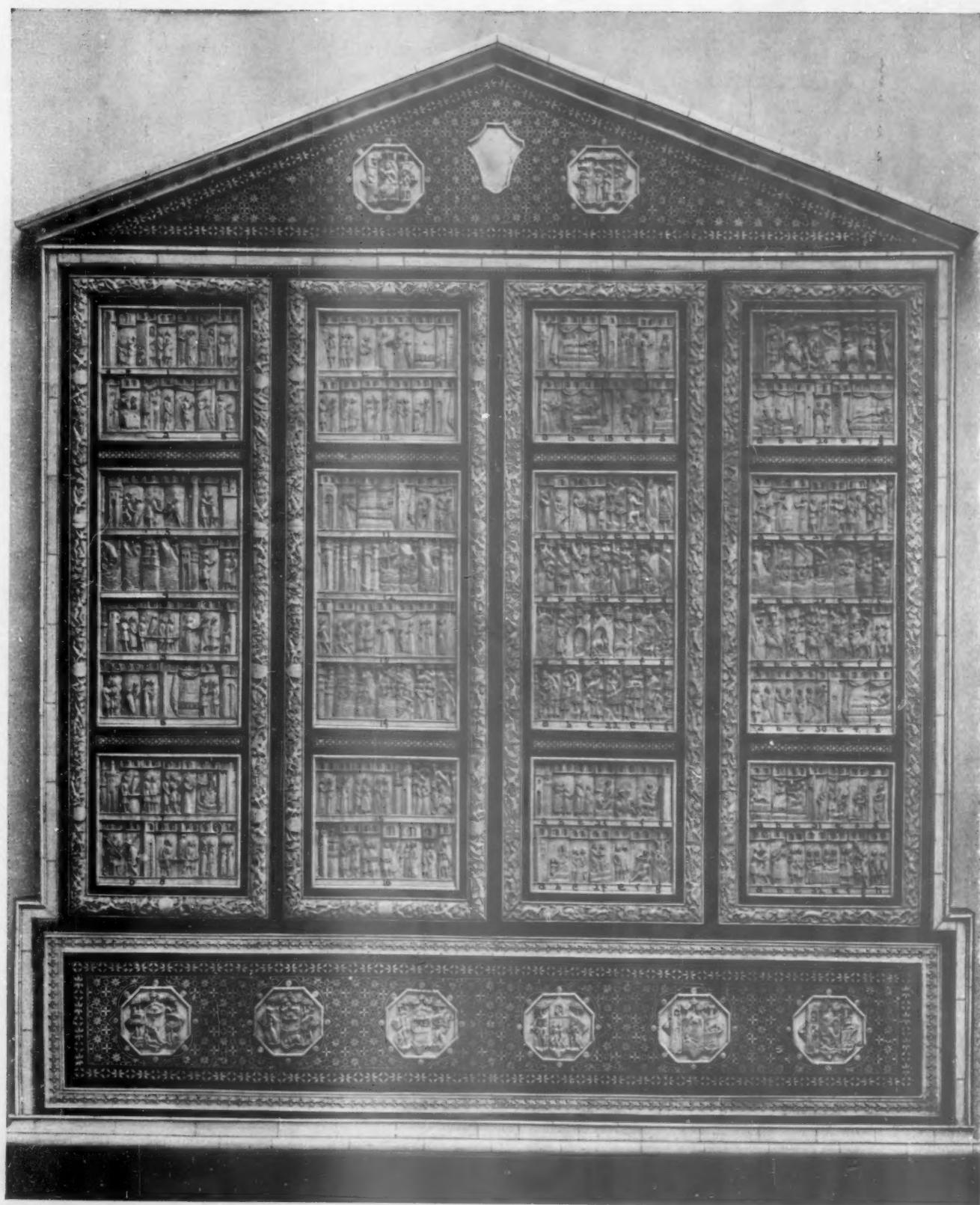


FIG. 1—*New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: Ivory Panels by Baldassarre degli Embriachi*

THE HELYAS LEGEND AS REPRESENTED ON THE EMBRIACHI IVORIES AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

By MARY ALICE WYMAN¹

A visitor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art who lingers in the third gallery of the Morgan Wing, beguiled by the mediaeval ivories of French workmanship, will hardly turn away without a glance at the large panel (Fig. 1) against the window wall exhibiting the handicraft of an Italian artisan of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries—Baldassarre degli Embriachi.

Placed symmetrically in a background of marquetry with carved ivory borders of intricate design, there are here forty ivory reliefs: thirty-two rectangular and eight octagonal in shape. The complete set originally decorated two coffers in an Italian monastery, the Certosa of Pavia. That they found a home in the Certosa during or before 1400 is indicated by an entrance in the account book of the monastery.² They seem to have been there for the use of the founder, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, and his second wife, Catherine. Since the sides of each chest were decorated by sixteen reliefs, each measuring eight by four inches, the two coffers were of ample proportions to hold expensive ceremonial accessories which it would have been inconvenient to transport frequently from Milan. The duchess' headdress, for example, her veil, slippers, golden book of prayer, the official cap and collar of the duke, and his slippers decorated with jewels may have been among the treasures of these coffers, which functioned thus, true to type, as "le meuble par excellence du Moyen-Age."³ Some time after the death of the last Duke of Milan in 1535, the carved ivory tablets were separated from the caskets and placed on a cabinet, which was in the possession of various collectors until 1865. Then it was bought by G. Battista Cagnola in Milan and stripped of its reliefs which were again used to decorate a small jeweled library cabinet in his palace. It was from here that they were sold in 1917 to become a part of the Morgan collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Baldassarre degli Embriachi, the master workman who produced in Venice and in Florence the ivory carvings of which these coffers are only one variety, was a

1. I wish to acknowledge kindnesses shown me by several scholars who have made helpful suggestions in the writing of this study: I am especially indebted to Mrs. Roberta Fansler of the Metropolitan Museum, and also to Miss Margaret Scherer of the same museum, to Dr. Eleanor G. Clark of Hunter College, to Dr. Arthur Dickson of New York City College, to Dr. Lizette A. Fisher, and to Mrs. Laura H. Loomis of Wellesley College.

2. In the account book of the Certosa of Pavia on Feb. 20, 1400, debt is noted of 1000 gold florins

to representative of Francesco de Masiis of Florence as complete payment for a carved altarpiece of the Certosa and two coffers of bone and ivory bought of Baldassarre degli Embriachi together with the promise to pay the sum the next Easter. J. von Schlosser, *Die Werkstatt der Embriachi...*, p. 235 (agreeing on this point with Sant'Ambrogio).

3. Diego Sant'Ambrogio, *Due cofani d'avorio*, in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 1895, series III, vol. 4, pp. 444 ff.

gentleman of wealth and influence as well as an artisan of distinction. The material he used for this delicate work was usually a white bone taken from horses and cattle, but for the finest pieces, such as the caskets, was used something more costly and exotic—the teeth of the hippopotamus. For stories which should be represented by tiny figures and scenes exquisitely carved in segments of the ivory, he drew widely from sacred and secular lore. In observing the details of the reliefs, one may recognize mediaeval Italian characteristics as well as the influence of the Renaissance. With the battlemented towers and castles used as background in many mediaeval ivories, are umbrella-shaped pine trees which grow profusely in Tuscany; the costumes of youthful persons show close coats with short skirts in the Italian mediaeval fashion; longer gowns draped in artistic folds and sometimes topped by a pointed cowl—so prevalent in the work of Cimabue and Giotto—also recur here frequently in miniature.⁴ In addition to scenes from fourteenth century tales on the rectangular reliefs, stories of Paris, Hero and Leander, and Pyramus and Thisbe are depicted on the eight medallions; these combined with the richly decorated border are more indicative of the art of the Renaissance. The entire pictorial display, however, exhibits an interesting combination of mediaeval and classic tradition.

Long prized as one of the art treasures of northern Italy, this array of reliefs was admired by many connoisseurs, two of whom—Diego Sant'Ambrogio⁵ and Julius von Schlosser⁶—have described, in European art magazines, the scenes in ivory, and have interpreted, to some extent, the stories here represented. Of the thirty-two rectangular reliefs arranged in four vertical series of eights, the first two rows are plausibly interpreted by Sant'Ambrogio and Schlosser as dealing with the story, *L'Aquila d'Oro* from Fiorentino's *Il Pecorone*. These writers mention also the *Becco all'Oca*⁷ made famous in a fifteenth century poem, *Mambriano*,⁸ but probably derived from earlier popular sources. The last row of reliefs was puzzling to both critics. While agreeing that the third row depicted the story of the swan children as linked with the Helyas legend, they made little attempt to trace the scenes of the last eight reliefs to a definite source. Sant'Ambrogio hazarded the opinion that the last row of ivories represented the continuation of the Helyas legend, though what prompted his speculation one was left to conjecture.

The details in the story of the swan children vary in the different versions preserved; but one may sum up briefly its main features. Because of ill-will borne a certain queen by her mother-in-law, her seven infants which she delivers at one birth are taken from her, and seven small dogs are exhibited to the king in their place as the queen's offspring. The queen suffers disgrace and imprisonment while the children, abandoned in the forest by a servant, are found by a hermit who nourishes and educates them. Golden chains about their necks indicating their fairy nature, are one day stolen from six of them, whereat they are changed into swans. The seventh,

4. Diego Sant'Ambrogio, *Due cofani...*, p. 463.

5. Diego Sant'Ambrogio, *Due cofani...*, pp. 444 ff.; *Le due arche o cofani d'avorio della Certosa di Pavia*, in *Il Politecnico*, XLIV (1896), pp. 504 ff.

6. Julius von Schlosser, *Die Werkstatt der Embriachi in Venedig*, in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen*

Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, XX (1899), pp. 220 ff.

7. Giovanni Fiorentino, *Il pecorone...*, Milano, 1815, I, 9th day, 2nd story.

8. By Francesco Bello, called Cieco of Ferrara (1440-98). Outline of tale given by Sant'Ambrogio, *Le due arche o cofani...*, pp. 525 ff.

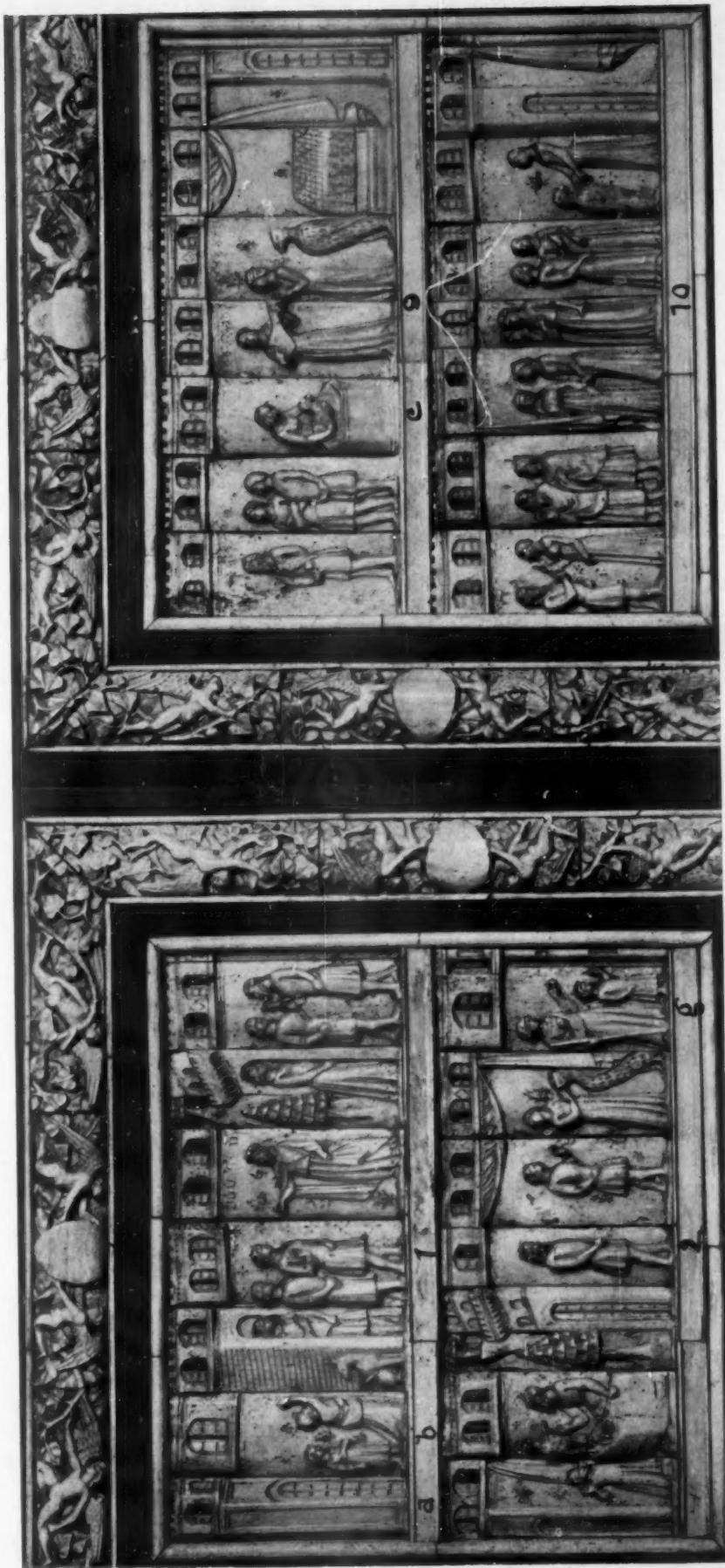


FIG. 2—New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: Ivory Panels by Baldassarre degli Embriachi. Detail of Fig. 1

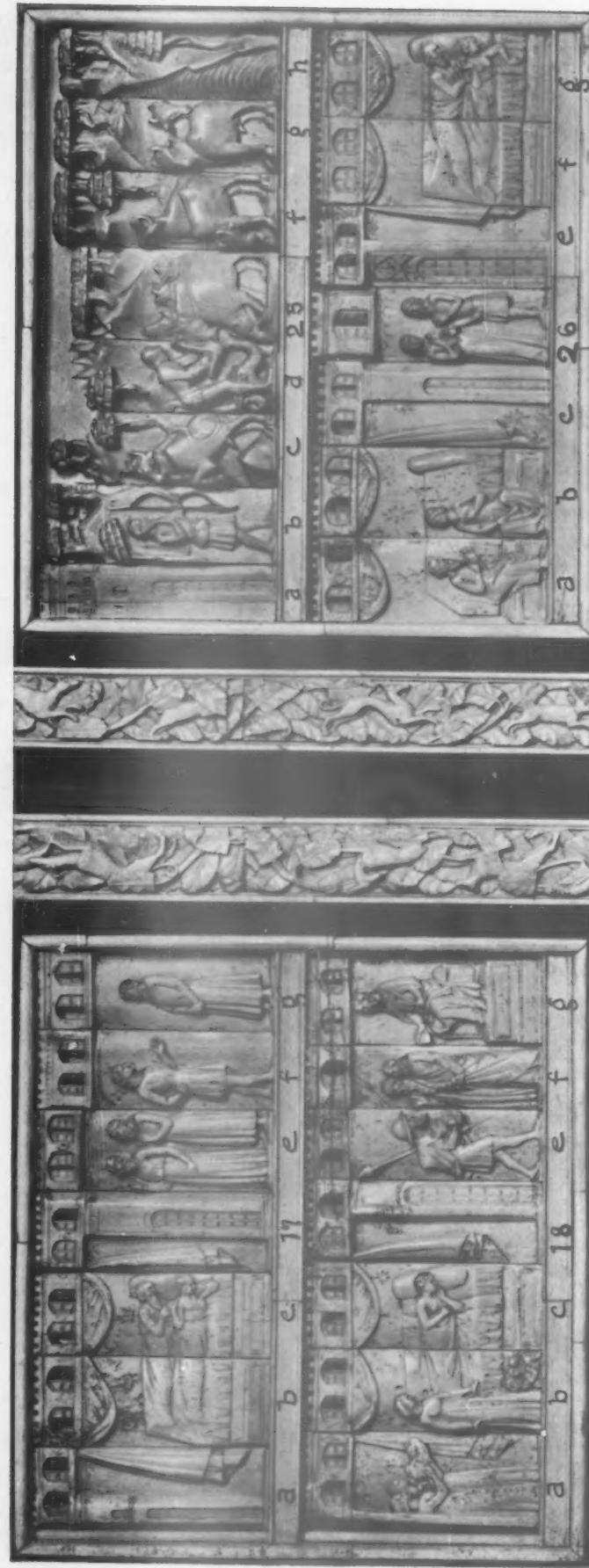


FIG. 3—New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: Ivory Panels by Baldassarre degli Embriachi. Detail of Fig. 1

keeping his human form, at length offers himself as his mother's champion, reveals the treachery in the palace, proves the queen's innocence, and brings about reconciliation with the king.

Accepting the theory that the story of the swan children is portrayed in the third row of ivories, one must yet investigate the interpretation of these scenes before considering their possible connection with the reliefs of the last row. Such a connection, however, could hardly be established without first giving attention to sources or interpretations suggested for the last eight tablets foreign to that of the swan children. The 25th relief brings to the mind of Sant'Ambrogio the tale of Hercules and Cacus because of the figure tearing the throat of a dragon or monster. With the exception of the first segment, this tablet and 28 evidently have nothing to do with the story of Helyas. The number of cattle in 25 does suggest the robbery of Cacus; but one must agree with Schlosser that the story of Jason is a more probable source for both reliefs. The main reason for so interpreting them is that the details on both tablets are similar to scenes portraying the Jason romance on other Embriachi caskets:⁹ for instance, in 25, Jason wresting the teeth from the mouth of the dragon, and the springing steers; and in 28 a fleet of Argonauts, Jason standing in one ship with a single oarsman. The fact that various classical themes are represented in the octagonal reliefs may account for these few details of Jason in the rectangular panels; obviously they do not belong with the first two rows. In tablet 26 are an older woman and attendant, the former holding what Schlosser calls a cord and Sant'Ambrogio a fatal thread, suggesting to him the tale of Theseus and Ariadne. As none of the high spots in the legend of Ariadne are represented, and this scene is duplicated in an Embriachi casket at the Cluny Museum representing the story of the swan children only, the former tale would seem to be impossible here as a source.

The artist's fancy for the swan story may be readily understood. As a mere matter of symmetry and balance, one might conjecture that with one half of the tablets used for *The Golden Eagle*, as many more would be given to a story considerably more popular if one may judge by the many Italian analogies to the tale of Mattabruna and the swan children¹⁰ (the first part of the Helyas legend) and its frequent representation in bone or ivory in northern Italy.¹¹ A different circumstance contributing to the popularity of this story may have been in connection with the romance of Helyas or *The Swan Knight* centered about the figure of Godfrey of

9. J. von Schlosser, *op. cit.*, p. 261. See also Jason casket among Embriachi caskets in Cluny Museum.

10. Angelo de Gubernatis, *I Cagnuolini*, *Il Re di Napoli*, in *Storia Universale della Letteratura*, VIII (1889), pp. 308-309; Vittorio Imbriani, *L'Uccel Bel-Verde*, *I figlioli della Campagnola*, *L'Uccellino che parla*, in *La Novellaja Fiorentina*, Livorno, 1877; Giovanni Fiorentina, *Il pecorone...*, I, 10th day, 1st tale; Straparola, *Le piacevoli notti*, Bologna, 1898, 4th night, 3rd tale; Laura Gonzenbach, *Die Verstossene Königin und ihre beiden ausgesetzten Kinder*, in *Sicilianische Märchen aus dem Volksmund gesammelt*, Leipzig, 1870.

11. See D. D. Egbert, *North Italian Gothic Ivories*, in *Art Studies*, 1929, pp. 203 and 173 ff. Embriachi ivories representing the swan story are listed by Schlosser in *Die Werkstatt der Embriachi*, pp. 222 ff. According to the list, these are at Bologna, Museo Civico (11); at London, Victoria and Albert Museum (61); at Paris, Cluny Museum (77); at Ravenna, Museo Nazionale (94); at Turin, Museo Civico (111 & 111a). The original of no. 61, a plaster copy, is at the British Museum and not listed by Schlosser. The same story is represented in a casket from a different workshop formerly in possession of H. H. Gibbs, Baron of Aldenham, Tyntesfield, Somerset, England.

Bouillon. So far as can be ascertained, the Helyas legend with its inclusion of the swan story was not available in Italy in the fourteenth century in an Italian version; but, like other cultivated Italian gentlemen, Baldassarre degli Embriachi¹² was probably familiar with French romances, which circulated through northern Italy during the Middle Ages; and certainly not the least of these was the tale of Helyas. The figure of Godfrey of Bouillon, deliverer of Jerusalem, joining the first crusade partly in penance for fighting against the pope, held in Italy as elsewhere a magic charm; but Baldassarre may have had a more personal interest. According to local tradition his ancestor was Godfrey of Bouillon's war architect and companion in arms, Guglielmo Embriaco of Genoa; and thus, tales linked with the memory of Godfrey may have had a special appeal to the artisan for representation in ivory.¹³

In a review of the sources from which Baldassarre may have been able to draw, the tale *Dolopathos*¹⁴ must first be mentioned—the oldest version of the story of the swan children, written in Latin in the twelfth century, but translated into French shortly after. Originating, evidently, from popular sources with few changes by the monk who inserts this in his series illustrating the malice of women, the tale shows little religious influence, and in the first incidents nearly parallels the scenes in the ivories: the birth of seven infants with chains about their necks; their exchange for pups by a cruel mother-in-law; their transference to a servant to be put to death in the forest; their upbringing by a hermit philosopher (not a praying friar) with the help of a hind that supplies milk; and the stealing of six chains transforming all but the one sister into swans.

Up to this point, the story shows little change in any of the versions that have come down to us. *Elioxe*,¹⁵ one of the earliest of these, which Gaston Paris has designated by the different names used for the queen mother,¹⁶ presents in old French verse a somewhat less barbarous tale, the mother dying at the birth of the children (who are said to be serpents rather than puppies), and thus not subject to the foul abuse which she receives in other versions. The first important change, however, reflected in the ivories, is in later twelfth and thirteenth century versions—in the early French *Beatrix*¹⁷ and in the Spanish variant, *Isomberte*.¹⁸ Here the child left in human form is a boy rather than a girl, and instead of arousing the father's curiosity and affection and thus bringing a happy end, he becomes his mother's champion, rights her wrong, and ends the cruel abuse of her jealous mother-in-law. This transference of the center of interest from a helpless maid to a youth of miraculous power gives larger scope in the Beatrix version to the legend of Helyas, the mythical ancestor of Godfrey of Bouillon. One of the swan brothers, unable to resume human form on account of the destruction of his chain, accompanies

12. In the Library of St. Mark's, Venice, is a fourteenth century codex in which is written, "Questo libro è di Baldassarre di Simone degli Ubriachi di Firenze." Florence was his home before Venice, and his name is also recorded as Ubriachi.

13. J. von Schlosser, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

14. A. Hilka, ed. of *Dolopathos* by Johannis de Alta Silva at end of the twelfth century, Heidelberg, 1913 (translated into French by Herbert in 1210).

15. See H. Todd, ed. of *Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*, P.M.L.A., IV (1889).

16. *Romania*, XIX (1890), pp. 314 ff.

17. C. Hippéau, ed. of *La Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroid de Bouillon*, in *Collection des poètes français du moyen âge*, Paris, 1874 (dated by G. Paris end of twelfth century).

18. See *La Gran Conquesta de Ultramar* in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, XLIV, chap. 47 ff. (dated by G. Paris end of thirteenth century).

Helyas on his exploits, which precede those of his famous descendant. Thus, the adventures of the fabulous and historic heroes are linked together.

Sant'Ambrogio notes that among the many legends arising from thirteenth century romance, particularly from *Helyas et les enfances de Godefroid de Bouillon*, there is one epitomized in a popular Italian *novella* of the fourteenth century recorded by Gaetano Cattaneo¹⁹ and called *The History of Queen Stella and Mattabruna*.²⁰ In this narrative no names are attached to the characters, the mother-in-law has become a jealous rival, the philosopher a pious hermit, and the boy serves rather remotely as his mother's deliverer; but with the exception of one or two segments the scenes depicted on the third row of the ivories very nearly parallel the details of the story. For this reason and because the novel is the only contemporary Italian source so far indicated, it seems of value to give Cattaneo's complete story in as literal a translation as possible.

"There was once in the court of a certain king of Ibernia a damsel endowed with so much talent and virtue that her own rare beauty was that which was admired least in her. The king fell deeply in love with her and married her with the approval of his subjects. All applauded the choice made by him with the exception of a certain lady of the court who having been praised as one fit to win the heart of the king, had nourished in her heart the hope of becoming one day his wife.

"Disappointed in her expectations, jealousy had made her conceive an insurmountable hatred for the new queen; but none the less with the intent of procuring more easily the means of satisfying the desire for revenge which ripened within her, she kept in her heart her criminal plans, and succeeded so well in masking her feelings that the king and court remained deceived. The queen, particularly, was so misled by her false demonstrations of affection that she ended by making her her intimate confidant.

"While this state of things continued, there arose meanwhile in a distant province of the realm some revolts, and the king, forced to depart to settle the trouble, left the queen several months along in pregnancy.

"The queen, assisted solely by the lady, her confidant, delivered herself sometime afterward of seven sons.

"Her confidant, who had been chafing with jealousy for several days, found suddenly in such an occasion a favorable opportunity to put her guilty designs into execution. After having carried away dexterously the seven new-born, she entrusted them to one of her faithfuls and put in their place an equal number of small dogs. Having afterward issued from the apartment of the queen, whose pain at such a delivery had taken away almost all consciousness, she showed to the lords of the kingdom, gathered together at need, the pretended fruit of royal blood.

"The lords, a little frightened at the sight of this monstrous progeny, notified their sovereign in haste. He, having received such news with surprise no less than with great grief, wrote by return post that they should throw out the dogs and adopt all means possible of consoling the queen.

"However, the criminal confidant of the queen, having bribed the messenger bearing this letter, took it in charge and substituted for it an order from the king that the queen be driven from the royal palace. The lady then bade her servant to whom she had consigned the seven infants to go promptly and throw them in a river a little apart from the city; and with regret, he saw himself constrained to execute this cruel order.

"At this same period, not far from the river of which we recently spoke, there lived in the odor of sanctity a hermit whose chief occupation was prayer. In one of those happy moments in which, stripped, so to speak, of human nature, he talked with God, there appeared unto him an angel. 'In the name of your Saviour and mine,' he said, 'I command you to betake yourself to the banks of the neighboring river. You will see there deposited on the tranquil waves a basket in which were placed to await death seven innocent creatures, the work of God. Bear them away tenderly from the danger that was threatening them and take them to a place of safety.' This he said and in an instant vanished from the eyes of the stupefied hermit.

"The saintly man, without losing a moment of time, executed this command of the angel. He arrived at the place indicated, and observed the basket which had stopped on the mud of a small inlet of the river. The seven children were within still full of life. He made himself master of it, and after having thanked God for this miracle, took joyously his path to his hermitage, keeping always under his arm the cherished basket.

19. Gaetano Cattaneo was a numismatist of Milan (born 1771).

20. Diego Sant'Ambrogio, *Le due arche o cofani...*, pp. 532 ff. Cattaneo's *Relazione*, in which Sant'Ambrogio found this story, seems to have been a manuscript (*Il Politecnico*, 1896, p. 511). It has not yet

been located, however, in the United States or in Italy; nor has the story been found in any Italian collection. In vocabulary and style the tale resembles fourteenth century Italian, but may be abridged. Since the characters are nameless, the title is puzzling.

"At the same time, after some instants of reflection on the important contents of the basket, an obstacle no less weighty came into his mind; in what way indeed to nourish these unfortunate babes without giving them milk, the first fruit of man, and where to find the nurse to supply it. But full of faith in the providence by which there had recently been completed a miracle in his favor, he continued tranquilly on his way.

"He had hardly ended these reflections when he glanced by chance above a cavern before which he was passing and saw there a hind nursing two fawns. Fortified at once by this precious discovery, he ventured to present the children; and the hind gave them to suck with great pleasure.

"Already many years had gone by, and the good hermit had employed himself giving to the nurslings the best possible education, when chance sent near him an honest old courtier who had secretly agreed to speak of the odious means employed by the wretched lady of the court to oppress the queen. She had succeeded so well in her project that after the disgrace of the queen, she secured over the mind of the king dominion so absolute as to bring about dangerous results if he was not undeceived as to her behaviour.

"The two old men, after having held counsel between themselves, decided to try the following month what with the passage of time would contribute much to open the eyes of the king.

"The hermit, who was in a great quandary concerning the latter, should present to the court that one of the children who had the best aspect, and gave proof of the greatest capacity. Once the choice was made, he should go to the city and ask for audience with the king. The boy was soon taken to be introduced.

"After the usual signs of esteem and affection were reciprocally given, the king asked the old man who might be the youth whom he had brought with him. 'His face,' he added, 'pleases me infinitely and inspires in me for him tender feelings which I have never before experienced.'

"'He is,' the hermit responded, 'a young man, who while journeying with his parents, was lost on the way and has never had their notice more. He came to seek an asylum near me; I accorded it to him and have given care up to this moment to his education; but not to leave buried in my hut the rare talents which I have discovered in him, I have thought it opportune to present him and recommend him to your very special attention.'

"The king received quite favorably these recommendations of the hermit and soon trusted the youth to an excellent tutor, commanding him to have the greatest care of his education. The young man in a short time profited in such a way from the lessons as to gain public esteem as much for his courage as for his rare gifts of heart.

"In this interval, the wretched lady of the court, tired of her position as favorite, threw down her mask and formed a project to become queen. She persuaded, consequently, a lord of the court, her lover, a man whose ambition did not yield at any point to the perversity of his mistress, to raise the standard of rebellion, and while he became master of the government she would take it upon herself to put the king to sleep in the midst of pleasure, and take in such a way measures to crush as many as opposed their purposes.

"This criminal plot was put into execution and everything seemed to go well with the conspirators; already they had surmounted the greatest obstacles, and having taken possession by dint of force were prodigal with gold and largess. Already they were marching toward the palace of the king to make themselves master of it, and it was there that they were punished for their audacity.

"At the first news of the revolt, the young prince of whom we have spoken, seized arms, united in all haste the few troops he met in these critical circumstances and flew to meet the rebels. After a light combat, he overthrew their leader from his horse and cut off his head.

"Proud of her first successes and persuaded besides that all the difficulties would be overcome, the lady, haughty at her triumph, had run to join her lover. His death, however, had caused all her ambitious designs to vanish; she took flight precipitately to avoid the punishment she deserved.

"The rebellion having been settled and the leaders discovered, the fugitive was tracked and arrested a slight distance from the city.

"Her arrest not permitting one to believe longer that this imposture would prevail on the spirit of the king whom the lady had interest only to deceive, the old courtier, the hermit, and some persons party to the secret accompanied the young prince while he came to present to his father the head of the leader of the rebels; and they profited by this moment to unveil the horrible conspiracy once plotted against the queen and her sons.

"The king raged with horror at such a report, and notwithstanding the joy which he felt in the recognition of a son as his deliverer and in finding his other sons, he was not able to conceal his extreme anger, thinking that he had lost the dear wife of whose fate he was ignorant.

"But this same providence which had saved the lives of seven children had likewise arranged for the salvation of their mother, and the old courtier hastened to announce that she was living in a retreat which he alone knew. Nothing was then more urgent than that the mother and children should be made to come into the presence of the king and one can better imagine than describe their touching recognition. All shed tears of joy and their embraces were followed by that effusion of heart which is natural in such circumstances.

"The lady and her accomplice, he who had exposed the children on the banks of the river, were subsequently condemned to judgment and punishment: the former to be burned and the latter to be blinded."

The scenes in ivory corresponding to the incidents in the *novella* proceed, with one or two exceptions, in chronological order. In the 17th tablet one sees first the

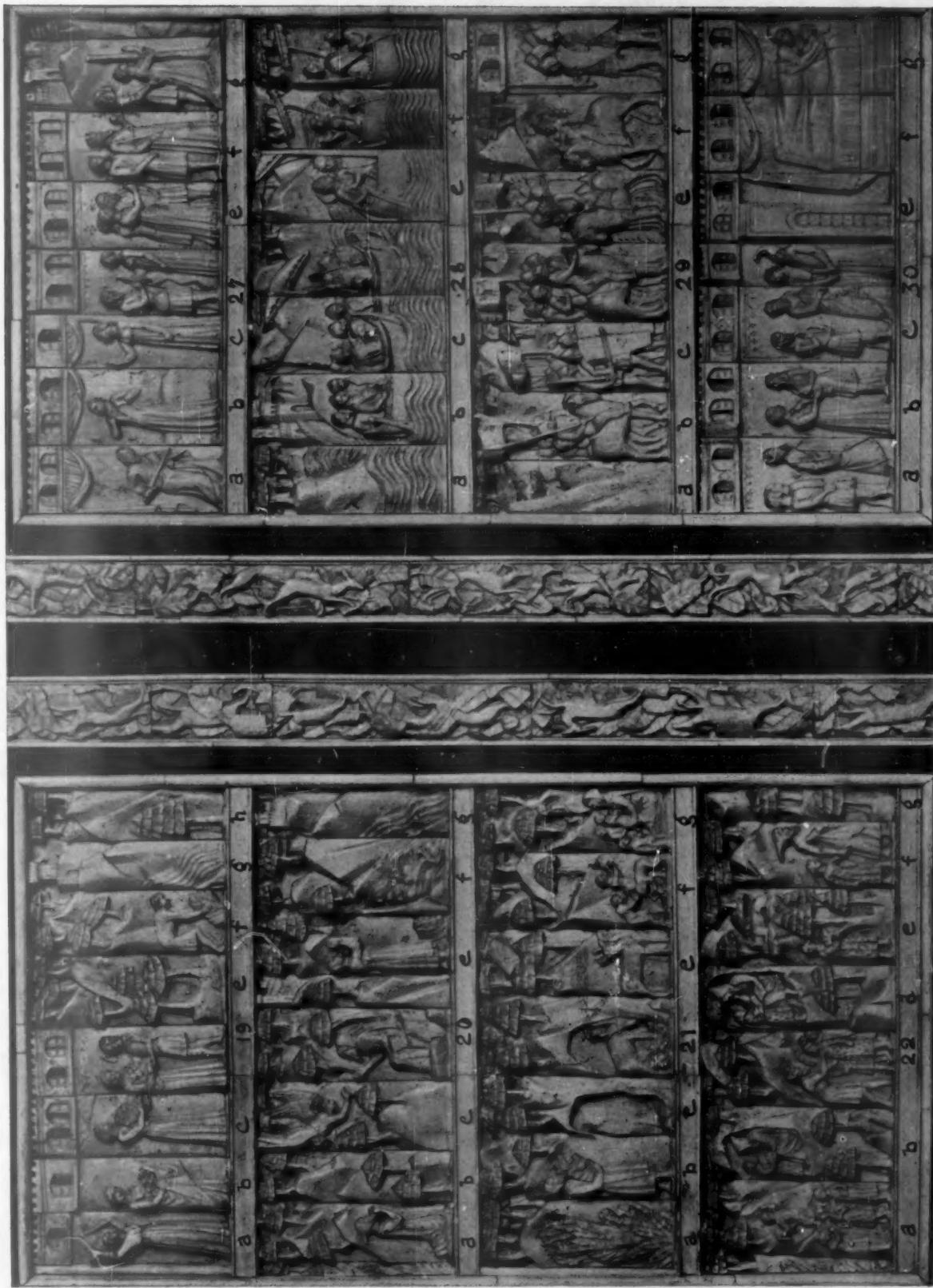


FIG. 4—New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: Ivory Panels by Baldassarre degli Embriachi. Detail of Fig. 1

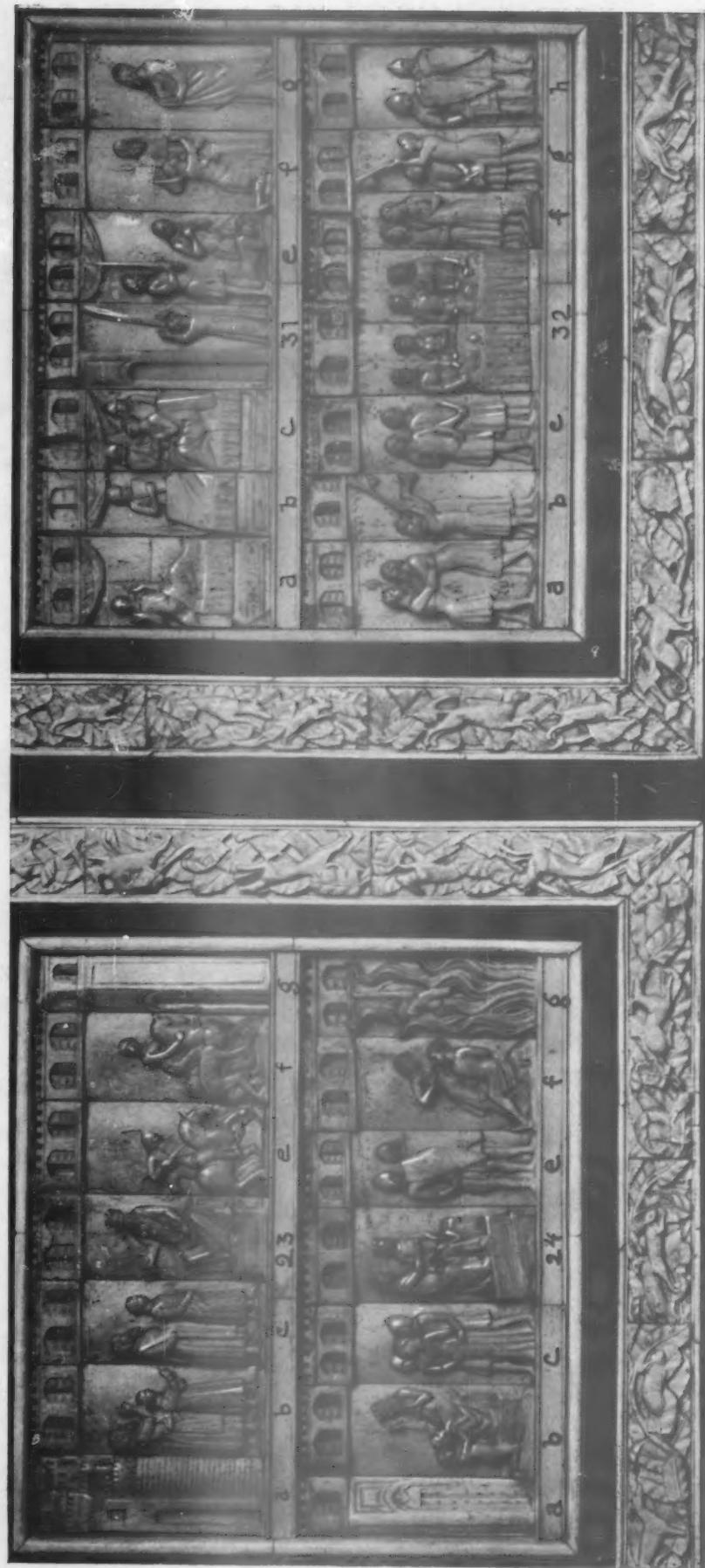


FIG. 5.—New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: Ivory Panels by Baldassarre degli Embriachi. Detail of Fig. 1

royal pair naïvely represented on their marriage bed, then two figures which seem to be out of order here, and at the end of the relief a young man or messenger expounding something to the king, possibly the news of revolts in his distant provinces. The 18th tablet discloses two maids bearing jars in their hands, and the queen inert after childbirth as her confidant points to an indeterminate number of infants at the bedside. The soldier in 18e, a reverse replica of one in 8b, seems to be out of place and to belong instead to the details of *The Golden Eagle*. The next two segments appear also to be misplaced, belonging, rather, after the first two scenes of the next tablet. Here a tall female figure, possibly a confederate in the conspiracy, appears first, hands upraised in horror; next comes the confidant holding, it seems, the small dogs. The two bearded male figures of 17e may belong next with the older man and young woman of 18f, all looking on aghast at this exhibition and representing, perhaps, the noble subjects of the king. In 18g the king is seated in state with a letter in his hand, probably bearing the news of the queen's progeny. Her actual issue are in the arms of the confidant in 9c, and also in 19d as she transfers them to a manservant who takes them to the forest and abandons them near a stream.

In the 20th relief one sees a hermit, first at his devotions in the forest, then visited by an angel, and finally with a prayer of gratitude discovering by a stream the deserted infants. Here 20g should follow 20e. Neither the small swans of 20f nor the stealing of the chains in 22c are a part of this version. In the 21st tablet the hermit is carrying the children through the forest and secures a hind to nourish them. The little ones are also portrayed here as somewhat grown, playing naked about the hermit. They are clothed in the 22nd relief and are being instructed by their guardian, who later leads one away with him from the forest.

The 23rd tablet indicates the city towers, the hermit entering with a youth, and again presenting him to the king seated on a throne. A combat on horseback changing to a duel on foot is followed by the figure of a woman on a horse looking back as she takes precipitate flight. In the 24th relief the youthful champion kneels before the king with the head of his opponent. Next appears the confidant arrested between two soldiers. Then seated on their throne and attended by two armed soldiers are the king and queen gazing at the blinding of him who deserted the children and at the burning of the treacherous confidant.

A comparison of the tablets from 19 through 22 with eleven Embriachi reliefs of the same subject at the British Museum shows little variation in scenes, and points to the same source for both sets of ivories.²¹ The fourteenth century Italian *novella*, oddly, makes no reference to the chains and the transformation element—so important in the early versions of the tale of the swan children. This phase of the story is, however, illustrated in the Metropolitan ivories, the baby swans in 20f, as well as the stealing of the chains in 22c, indicating the fairy nature of the children. Yet, since the details of the third row of reliefs, with the exception of the chain transformation incident, follow rather closely the steps in the Italian *novella*, six of the tablets,

21. In one of the eleven Embriachi reliefs of this subject at the British Museum, the hermit holds out an infant for the deer to suckle as indicated in

the Italian source. The stealing of the chains is not represented. For description of these reliefs I am indebted to Miss Margaret Scherer.

19 through 24, needing no readjustment to interpret the tale chronologically, one feels that the artist, using this as his main source, merely included the stealing of the chains and their inaccurate use on the swans because it was an important feature in the other versions of the tale, such as *Dolopathos*, *Elioxe*, and *Beatrix*, which he probably knew.

The representation of the thief in 22c is of more significance, however, in establishing the connection between the third and fourth rows of ivories and in giving us a clue to a possible source for the last reliefs. The reappearance of this figure in 26d, returning a coil of chains to an older woman, points certainly to the continuation of the story of the swan children in the last reliefs, for the scene in 26d is duplicated in the Embriachi casket of the Cluny Museum representing the Helyas legend only. The recurrence of the male figure in 26d equipped as a hunter in 25b and in 27d offers a further clue as to what version was drawn upon for the last tablets. It could not have been *Isomberte*, for in this source the chains are stolen by two servants while the children are under the control of their grandmother. A hunter thief, however, is featured in *Beatrix*, the old French version already cited.²² It has survived in two forms: an early rendering in verse of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, edited by Hippeau, and another dating from the fourteenth century edited by Reiffenberg,²³ both variants being preserved in several other manuscripts.²⁴ Since the Beatrix version had a wide circulation in the Middle Ages and its treatment of the supernatural element in the legend is reflected in the last reliefs, it is from this source that we believe the Venetian artisan drew to add scenes that might amplify rather than duplicate those of the story already given.

As might be expected, the earlier of these Beatrix versions is the more simple and naïve narrative, showing little motivation for the action. The definite accusation of the queen of commerce with a dog is first introduced in the later manuscript, which is throughout more sophisticated in tone. In both forms the tale has become moral as well as more specifically religious. The birth of seven children at one delivery is in a sense a punishment for the queen's light remark insinuating adultery on the part of a beggar woman with twins. For the accusation that she has given birth to animals the queen must be burned at the stake unless a champion appears to prove her innocence. Her son, who is destined to save her from disgrace, is baptized, in the manuscript edited by Hippeau, not only once by the hermit, but again at court before he is armed as a knight. Amazed and abashed at the words and bearing of Helyas, the king crosses himself in his presence. The queen prays to the Virgin Mary throughout the conflict and her prayers are answered by miracles attending her son's victory.

Of all the tales depicted on the two coffers at the Certosa of Pavia the legend

22. C. Hippeau, *op. cit.*

23. Baron de Reiffenberg, *Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroid de Bouillion*, in *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces*, IV-VI, Brussels, 1846-1854 (*Collection de Chroniques Belges inédites*).

24. Hippeau's MS. 1621 is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale and parallels in its main outlines MS. 795 in the same library and formerly MS. 7192 mentioned by Schlosser as the source of the ivories at the Met-

ropolitan Museum; it parallels also the English fragment of poetry in the Cotton MSS., Caligula A 2, in the British Museum and the Latin version, Rawlinson Miscellany, 358, in the Bodleian Library.

Reiffenberg's MS. 10,391 in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, parallels the English translation by Robert Copland of the French romance by Pierre d'Esrey de Troyes.

of Helyas is the only one admitting of religious interpretation. The propriety of placing in a monastery these caskets with their secular and rather sensual reliefs has, in fact, been questioned by Sant'Ambrogio. However that may be, Gian Galeazzo, the founder of the Certosa, though called the most unprincipled of the Visconti despots ruling Milan in the Middle Ages, probably had the conventional attitude of the prince toward Christianity; and it is possible that Baldassarre's desire to please his patron by adapting the ivory reliefs to their setting in Pavia, if not the duke's personal direction, was responsible for the representation of the Helyas legend showing specific scenes of a religious nature.

The Beatrix version which more closely parallels the ivories in the last row of the Embriachi panel, is the earlier one edited by Hippéau. To understand what incidents Baldassarre may have depicted, one needs to know in brief the details of the story not already outlined in the fourteenth century Italian *novella*. The opening situation runs somewhat as follows:

King Oriant of L'Illefort and his wife Beatrix, when looking down one day from their palace tower into the courtyard, saw a beggar woman with twins. The king sighed that he had no children, but the queen remarked that two children born at the same time must have had more than one father. Repelling her insinuation, King Oriant gravely reproved Beatrix, insisting that with God all things were possible; and bearing out the truth of his words, she conceived the following night seven children.

The birth of six boys and a girl, their exchange for puppies, and removal to the wood follows, for the most part, the source already given. Here, however, the king has not been called away to remote wars, but views with horror the small dogs, whose dam has been killed and that are declared to be the queen's offspring. He allows his mother, Mattabruna, to imprison Beatrix; and the unfortunate queen, led away captive, is reviled and abused by her persecutor and base confederates. As already indicated, the children grow up in the forest for ten years under the protection of the hermit,

but were noticed by Mattabruna's confidant, a forester called Malquarres. Instead of killing them at the command of his mistress, he stole the chains of six, who at once flew away as swans, and returned the chains to Mattabruna. The boy retaining human form continued for three years to live with the hermit and procure food for his swan brothers and sister.

Mattabruna next sent for a goldsmith to make a cup out of the gold chains. The smith found a single chain miraculously ample for two cups, kept one cup and the other five chains, and returned the first cup to Mattabruna, who now thought herself well rid of the children. She urged the king then to burn Beatrix; and after calling a council, he decided to burn the queen in four days if a champion did not appear.

In the meantime an angel came to the hermit by night announcing that the child was destined to save his mother so unjustly accused, giving at the same time all the details of Mattabruna's treachery. The child was baptized next morning by the hermit, was named Elyas, and then set forth in his coat of leaves with his guardian. When within sight of the city, he went on alone, reached the scene of tumult as his mother, after thirteen years in prison, was led out to be burned unless someone came to her defence. Elyas presented himself to the king, and Mattabruna told Malquarres that he must fight. At Elyas' own request he was again baptized; then, armed as a knight, he fought Malquarres, was victor, and cutting off his enemy's head, presented it to the king. Elyas then explained to the king the conspiracy against the queen and her children, called for the goldsmith to bring the chains, and by this means restored four of his brothers and his sister to human form. He next turned to the servant Markes, who on account of disobedience and failure to kill the infants had been blinded by Mattabruna, and miraculously gave back his eyesight.

The king yielded his crown to his son Elyas that he might punish Mattabruna, who had escaped at the time of the combat to her castle Malbruant. A large army was assembled and a fierce battle followed with much treachery on the part of Mattabruna, who was finally taken from her tower by the soldiers of Elyas and burned. After a scene of feasting and rejoicing, Elyas departed from L'Illefort with the brother who by loss of chain still remained a swan.

Turning now to the ivory reliefs in the last row of the Embriachi panel, we shall consider in chronological order the scenes suggesting the Beatrix version of the Helyas legend, since the tablets were evidently disarranged when stripped from the caskets. Three segments with details of this story may, in fact, be found among the first sixteen tablets of the panel. Schlosser suggests that the first episode is out of place in tablet 1a,b and 2g; in the first case a woman with twin infants in a basket hanging from her shoulders and a larger child by her side, stands in a courtyard looking up in the attitude of begging; in the second relief the same group are turning away. In 26a,b,c the king seems to be admonishing the queen for her light remarks; and the conception of the children the night following the incident with the beggar woman may be indicated in tablet 26e,f,g. Here the king is possibly about to leave the queen, as we learn in the Beatrix version, to pray St. Vincent for issue. This scene is very similar to that in 17a,b,c; in both instances, the queen seems to be turning wearily away from the king rather than to be showing antipathy as Schlosser suggests.²⁵

The exhibition of the dogs to the king as the queen's progeny is represented in the Embriachi casket at the Cluny Museum showing the story, but is not in the reliefs at the Metropolitan Museum. The drowning of the mother of the dogs appears to be out of place, however, in the third segment of the 9th tablet. The persecution of the queen by Mattabruna and one of her confederates would seem to be indicated in relief 27a,b,c. Mattabruna's hand is uplifted either in warning or in readiness to strike the queen; the latter is tearing her robe at the neck in distress; and a male figure stooping is on the point of beating her with a stick or sword. Possibly she is being conducted to prison where she is depicted, aghast at her situation, in tablet 31a.

The male figure detailed in the 22nd relief as stealing the chains from the children, appears, as already noted, in tablet 25 starting out to the forest equipped for hunting; in tablet 27d telling Mattabruna of his discovery; and in tablet 26d returning with the coil of chains. The baptism of the boy Elyas is represented on the Cluny casket, and the baptism at court followed by his equipment as a knight was originally given in the caskets of our study before the reliefs were separated.²⁶

In tablet 31b,c soldiers appear to be taking Beatrix violently out of prison; and in 31d,e the queen would seem to be on her knees praying as she is led from prison to the stake. Prostrate at her feet is another female figure duplicating the kneeling person. We suggest that this is a double representation of the queen by the use of the continuous method, practiced by contemporary artists, to denote two attitudes of despair. Behind her a child crying, with hands upraised, is indicative of tumult. Beside her, with spear upright in his hand, is an executioner. In 27e,f,g she appears kneeling at the stake, the king and all his train behind her.

In 30a,b,c,d a series of groups are presented whose significance is difficult to determine; they may show independent treatment by Baldassarre. There are first

25. If his interpretation is correct, neither 26e,f,g nor 17a,b,c would represent any version of the Helyas legend.

26. In Schlosser's article there is a photograph of this relief, corresponding in background and figures to those in the Embriachi panel; cf. *Die Werkstatt...*, p. 267, fig. 27.

two pages following the king, of whose presence Mattabruna seems to be warning her confidant; then the same figure who is seen behind the queen at the stake, perhaps a courtier, with the king, queen, and a tall person wearing a cowl with tip pointing forward, possibly the hermit if not some court official. Such a conference might be portrayed as following the arrival of Elyas to defend his mother and preceding his combat with Malquarres. The hermit here and elsewhere in the last row of ivories is a little confusing, as in neither of the Beatrix versions does he appear at court after bringing the boy Elyas to be the queen's champion. In the tale *Isomberle* he is, however, an important factor in the final explanation; either familiarity with this source on the part of Baldassarre or his own independent treatment may account for the frequency of the hermit's appearance. The youth kneeling before the king and accompanied by the hermit in 31f,g must be either a messenger or Elyas with helmet tipped back revealing himself to the king after his victory. The latter interpretation seems more probable. The array of soldiers on foot and on horseback in tablet 29 would naturally represent preparations for besieging Mattabruna in her castle Malbruiant, although it is difficult to distinguish Elyas as a leader.

The final supplementary reliefs depict the reunion of king and queen on their marriage bed in tablet 30e,f,g and a scene of festivity in 32. The youth embracing an older man in the first segment of the latter tablet is evidently Elyas. The identity of the older man because of his short-skirted garment is somewhat problematical. The two middle segments of this relief seem to be duplicates of the king and queen at table. About them are attendants, two of them trumpeters and two armed soldiers.

Although nearly every scene that we have described in the last row of ivories may find its source in the earlier Beatrix version, an indication of definite variations in the Reiffenberg manuscript may make it clearer that this latter rendering was not used in linking other scenes to the first eight reliefs. Although the legend in its main outlines is completed in the third row, the artisan in adding scenes would in all probability have availed himself of a version with incidents corresponding to those of the source already used rather than differing distinctly from them. The knight Manquare, for example, when overcome by Helyas, is hanged in the Reiffenberg version instead of beheaded as shown in the ivories; and another confidant, Savaris, is earlier charged by Mattabruna to steal the chains from the children. Savaris, moreover, takes with him seven companions to carry out his purpose. The stealing of the chains by one hunter thief in the third row of ivories with subsequent scenes of the hunter and Mattabruna in the fourth row, we have already mentioned as the first noticeable welding of the postulated versions, on the whole very loosely combined, the later scenes ranging from the preliminary meeting of the beggar woman and twins to the dramatic representation of the queen at the stake. Among these the baptism of Elyas in preparation for his mission may be traced only to the earlier Beatrix version. Bearing in mind the differences in the later Beatrix manuscript and recognizing at the same time that any conclusion must be more or less speculative, we are still of the opinion, after a careful examination of the ivories, that in his reliefs Baldassarre was guided first by the contemporary Italian *novella* recorded by Cattaneo and then added scenes showing in part independent treatment and a possible familiarity with *Isomberle*, but pointing mainly to the earlier Beatrix version of the Helyas legend.

So many of the reliefs in the third row of the Embriachi panel correspond to incidents in Hippo's manuscript that a chronological arrangement of all the scenes in ivory representing the Helyas legend would parallel very nearly the sequence of the earlier Beatrix version. For this reason, a comparison of these ivories with an unimpaired casket in Tyntesfield, Somerset, England,²⁷ representing the tale as given in MS. 1621,²⁸ edited by Hippo, would strengthen our assurance that the story of Mattabruna and the swan children was carried through the last rows of reliefs and that the Hippo manuscript was a definite source used by Baldassarre degli Embriachi.

The Somerset casket is thought to be of Italian workmanship in the fourteenth century, but in technique it is clearly inferior to the Embriachi panel. It was perhaps done in some shop in Piedmont, which Molinier says is believed to be the home of much ivory carving of the fourteenth century that shows both French and Italian influence, and has very definite defects in facial expression, proportion of figures and draping of costumes.²⁹ The incidents portrayed, however, seem to be very similar to those given in the Embriachi ivories at the Metropolitan Museum and in the Embriachi casket at the Cluny Museum.³⁰

The English fragment³¹ which Mr. Gibbs has edited as the probable source of these scenes corresponds in its main outline to the Latin MS. at Oxford and MS. 1621 edited by Hippo; and in running through the thirty-six scenes depicted on the English casket, one may find at least twenty-eight analogous to scenes in the Metropolitan ivories. A tabulation of the scenes in the Somerset casket, which are chronologically arranged, paralleled by analogous scenes in the Embriachi ivories seems to be the best means of comparison.

SOMERSET CASKET

1. King, queen, and Matabryne on wall.
Mother and twins below.
2. King and queen in bed.
3. King discovers queen with child.
4. Queen asleep in bed; Matabryne carries off children.

EMBRIACHI IVORIES

1a,b.	Mother with twins and third child begging.
2g.	Mother with twins and third child going away.
17a,b,c.	26efg. Similar scenes.
18b,c.	None to correspond.
19b.	Queen asleep in bed; Mat. substitutes dogs.
	19c. Mat. carries off children.

27. The casket already mentioned as belonging formerly to Henry Hucks Gibbs, Baron of Aldenham, who died in 1907.

28. Pigeonneau refers to the scenes of this casket and their undoubted source in MS. 1621 in *Le Cycle de la Croisade*, Saint-Cloud, 1877, p. 246.

29. E. Molinier, *Les Ivoires, Histoire générale...*, I, p. 207.

30. As a legend of the origin of the Guelf party has been suggested as a possible source for the English casket as well as for the Embriachi ivories, a brief résumé will show that its incidents differ radically from those represented in the ivories (see *Deutsche Sagen, herausgegeben von den Brüdern Grimm*, Berlin, 1891, 3rd ed., *Ursprung der Welfen*, 521, p. 128). This tale of Count Isenbart and his wife Irmentrut begins like the Beatrix version of the swan children with the adultery motive, Irmentrut insisting, however, that the woman she has seen with triplets deserves death. A year later the countess

has twelve children at one time, and fearing that her hasty words might be remembered, sends away eleven by an old servant to be drowned. The old woman meets the count and tries to conceal the babies by calling them *welfen*, or little dogs. The count, however, finds out the truth, provides for the welfare of the baby boys for six years, then brings them to the palace in the presence of the countess and their friends. Their similarity to the son retained convinces everyone of their identity; her guilt exposed, the countess begs for mercy, and is finally forgiven. The count subsequently changes the family name from *Altorf* to *Welfen*.

Not only the incidents of the story but the fact that the Visconti family were prominent Ghibellines would make this tale an improbable source for the ivories.

31. H. H. Gibbs, *The Romance of the chevelere assigne*. Early English Text Society—extra series, no. 6, with atlas, London, 1868.

THE HELYAS LEGEND

21

5. Mat. delivers children to Marcus.	19d. Similar scene.
6. Mat. drowns dam in well.	9c. Similar scene.
7. Mat. presents whelps to king who wrings his hands.	19f. Casket in Cluny Museum has similar scene.
8. Marcus exposes children in forest.	31a. Similar scene.
9. Maledras thrusts queen in prison.	26a,b,c. Queen in prison.
10. Hermit finds children.	20e,f. Queen led to prison by Mat. and assistant.
11. Hind suckles them; Maledras finds them.	21b. Similar scenes.
12. Maledras tells Mat.	21d. Hind suckles them.
13. Mal. takes chains from children.	25b. Huntsman who sees them out of place.
14. They fly away swans.	27d. Similar scene.
15. Mat. praises and caresses Mal.	22c. Similar scene.
16. Mat. taunts king and gets leave to burn queen.	20f. None to correspond.
17. Soldier leading queen to execution; she has fallen on knees and is praying.	26d. Baby swans swimming on stream.
18. King on throne as if to see burning. Mat. and man in armor behind him counseling him.	31d,e. Mat. with coil of chains from Mal. standing by.
19. The angel appears to hermit and child.	31b,c. None to correspond.
20. Both set forth.	31d,e. Similar scene.
21. King on his throne; queen presents child as champion and Mat. Mal. as hers.	31b,c. Soldiers take queen from prison.
22. Combat between Helyas and Mal.	20c,d. None to correspond.
23. Helyas having slain Mal. bears away head.	23b,c. Angel appears to hermit alone.
24. Flight of Mat.	23c,d. Similar scene. Also 22f,g.
25. Helyas presents head of Mal. to king.	23e,f. King on his throne; hermit presents child.
26. King with figure kneeling before him seems to be giving something into his hand.	23f. Combat, similar scene.
27. Reconciliation of king and queen.	24b. None to correspond.
28. King and queen embrace Helyas.	30e,f,g. None to correspond.
29. His army march against Mat.	32a. Old man embraces Helyas.
30. They prepare to assault.	29. An army being mustered.
31. The castle and its defenders.	29. " " " None to correspond.
32. Capture of Mat.	24c. Capture of Mat.
33. Helyas recounts his adventures to father and mother.	31f,g. Helyas recounts adventures to king.
34. Burning of Mat.	24g. Similar scene.
35. King and queen gazing.	24d. Similar scene.
36. Helyas departing in ship, led by swan brother.	None to correspond.

A comparison of these two sets of tabulated scenes showing a similarity of subject in twenty-eight out of a possible thirty-six, would seem to indicate that both artisans were outlining events from the same legend. A glance at the photographs of the Metropolitan ivories will show that there are here more than thirty-six scenes detailing the Helyas story—in fact, some fifty-three in all. Among these additional scenes there are some duplications, and some which detail more minutely the earlier part of the story. A few belong distinctly to the Italian source, as the messenger before the king, 17f,g; the possible subjects of the king, 17e, 18f; and the king with the letter in his hand, 18g; others are definitely connected with the Beatrix version, MS. 1621, as the queen at the stake, 27e,f,g; Mattabruna and her confidant near king, queen, and others in consultation, 30a,b,c,d; and the final festivities, 32. The number of scenes, however, not strictly analogous to those of the Somerset casket, need not affect our conclusion that Baldassarre degli Embriachi was drawing upon the earlier Beatrix version of the Helyas legend, though to a less extent than the unknown Italian artisan, in the designing of his reliefs.

Our opinion that the French manuscripts containing this legend were actually in the hands of Baldassarre has been strengthened by an examination of the illuminations in several of the thirteenth and fourteenth century manuscripts that have been preserved. Here may be found scenes reminiscent of those depicted in the ivories. In the *Elioxe* MS. 12,558 at the Bibliothèque Nationale, the queen is represented in bed while her seven children are carried off by Mattabruna, three in each of two baskets and one on her arm; a similar scene is given in MS. 3139, a redaction of *Elioxe* and *Beatrix* at the Arsenal Library, Paris; but here Mattabruna is passing the children over to a servant. The queen at the stake with all immediately concerned is also portrayed in 3139; here two soldiers are behind her, one male figure guarding her from the flames. In 786, a manuscript in verse at the Bibliothèque Nationale, another miniature shows a youth trying to drag the queen back from the fire, a monk or hermit behind him, and the king behind the monk.³² A soldier with a spear following a woman in the same manuscript suggests the executioner with Beatrix on the Embriachi panel. In both 3139 and 786, also, Helyas is represented as fighting on horseback; in the latter he is a mere child. In matters of background, costumes, and armor there is so much resemblance between the illuminations and the ivory reliefs that one feels these or similar manuscripts with miniatures must have come under the examination of Baldassarre degli Embriachi.

With a recognition of the influence of two distinct sources in the story of the swan children on the Embriachi panel, the Italian *novella* amplified by the earlier *Beatrix* version with a possible knowledge of *Isomberte*, the legend as given in the ivories might be presented to follow an orderly succession, but there would be problems to meet in the technique as well as in the arrangement of the reliefs. Scenes which now need to be placed in correct order are those of the beggar woman and the drowning of the dog interjected among the reliefs of *The Golden Eagle*, the two old men in 17e, the soldier in 18e, the hunter in 25b, the swans and stealing of the chains in 20f and 22c, and all the scenes in 26, 27, and 31. The first difficulty in shifting about segments of ivory in the last two rows is that five tablets in the third row, from 19 through 24, now show a perfect sequence with the exception of 20f and 22c, and insertion of scenes belonging here chronologically, such as the hunter in 25b, might interrupt the present symmetrical arrangement. Another problem is seen in the placing of tablets in the last row which do not portray the Helyas legend—25 and 28 on the Jason story—and the separation of the reliefs depicting the baptism.³³ Matters of technique in the ivory carving make rearrangement still more of a puzzle. In the first place, the width of the segments varies according to the size of the pieces of bone or ivory used. The top margins representing trees or towers must be carefully matched; draperies over beds, and panelled walls to represent a right or left interior must be properly placed. Yet even with these difficulties, to improve upon the present arrangement by placing the segments in a chronological sequence as indicated in the following plan, might be worth trying. No version for a scene is listed where the artist appears to show independent treatment;

32. MS. 786 is said by Pigeonneau to follow the main outlines of MS. 1621, ed. by Hippéau, *Le cycle de la croisade et la famille de Bouillon*, 1877, p. 126.

33. The present location of these reliefs is unknown.

and for convenience the boy champion is called Helyas and the woman conspirator Mattabruna throughout. Among seeming discrepancies in the union of both versions is the diminutive size of the boy champion in 23e,f and 24b as compared with the kneeling figure in 31f; but in each version Helyas was hardly more than thirteen years of age when he came to his mother's defence. Such problems, due in part possibly to inaccuracies of the artist, one cannot hope to solve by an arrangement suggested mainly to make the connected scenes of the Helyas legend more apparent.

TABLETS AND SEGMENTS

VERSION ILLUSTRATED

1b, 2g. Woman with twins.	B. V. (Beatrix Version).
26a,b,c. King reproofing queen.	B. V.
17a,b,c, 26e,f,g. Marriage bed.	Either.
17f,g. Report of revolts.	I. N. (Italian Novel).
18a,b,c,d. Maidservants with jars. Birth of infants.	Either. B. V.
9c. Killing of dam.	I. N.
19a,b, 17e, 18f. Showing of pups. (18e, soldier, reverse of 8b belongs with first sixteen tablets).	I. N.
18g. Report by letter to king.	B. V.
27a,b,c. Persecution of queen.	B. V.
31a. Queen in prison.	B. V.
19c,d. Babes delivered to servant.	Either.
19f,g. Babes abandoned by servant by stream.	Either.
20a,b,c,d,e,g. Hermit hears of babes and rescues them.	Either.
20f. Swans with chains misplaced.	Either.
21a,b,c,d,e,f,g. Hermit provides nourishment and care for the children.	Either.
25b. Hunter starts for forest.	B. V.
22a,b-d,e. Hermit instructing children.	Either.
22c. (Stealing of chains misplaced).	I. N.
22f. Hermit takes Helyas away.	B. V.
27d. Hunter reports children to Mattabruna.	B. V.
24f. Mattabruna has servant who saved children blinded or Servant punished for leaving children by stream.	I. N.
22c. Chains stolen.	B. V.
20f. Children become swans (inaccurate).	B. V.
26d. Hunter gives Mattabruna chains.	B. V.
31b,c,d,e. Queen taken from prison, falls on knees on way to trial.	B. V.
30a,b,c,d. Conference or trial of queen.	B. V.
27e,f,g. Queen at stake.	I. N.
23a,b,c,d. Hermit presents Helyas to king.	I. N.
23e,f,g. Helyas kills opponent and Mattabruna flees on horseback.	I. N.
24b. Helyas presents head of opponent to king.	B. V.
31f,g. Amplification of foregoing. Helyas reveals himself to king.	B. V.
29a,b,c,d,e,f,g. Gathering of forces to attack Mattabruna at Malbruiant.	Either.
24c. Arrest of Mattabruna.	Either.
30f,g. King and queen reconciled.	B. V.
24d,e-g. King and queen watching burning of Mattabruna. (24f. Blinding of servant at this point in I. N.).	
32a,b,c,d,e,f,g. Feast.	

It has seemed outside the province of this study to inquire particularly into the origin of the tale of the swan children or of the authorship of the various manuscripts. The wide circulation of the story, however, in most of the languages of mediaeval Europe may be accounted for to some degree by its beginning and setting. The monk of Lorraine³⁴ who wrote the earliest version we know of the swan children

34. Johannis de Alta Silva. See *Dolopathos*, ed. by A. Hilka, Heidelberg, 1913.

was perhaps in part responsible for the continuing of the setting in this strip of land between France and Germany, and for the combining of the exploits of its distinguished son, Godfrey of Bouillon, with the early legend. Mediaeval French romance, especially when connected with so popular a figure as this leader in the first crusade, seems to have found many readers in northern Italy; and thus the frequent representation there of this narrative in ivory is not surprising. The Somerset casket as well as the Embriachi casket at the Cluny Museum and the eleven panels at the British Museum have been referred to in various discussions of the swan knight as ivories presenting the tale of the swan children.³⁵ Few, however, may have realized that, so far as we know, the most detailed portrayal in ivory of this story introducing the last of the heroic legends of the Middle Ages is to be found in the Embriachi reliefs at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

35. Gibbs, in *The Romance of the cheuelere assigne*, mentions both Cluny and Tyntesfield caskets; Pigeonneau, in *Le cycle de la croisade...*, refers to the latter; F. Jaffrey, in *The Two Knights of the Swan, Lohengrin and Helyas*, New York, 1910, notes all three objects of art. Photograph of Cluny casket is given by Hans Semper in *Ueber ein italienisches Beintriply-*

chen des XIV. Jahrhunderts in Ferdinandum und diesem verwandte Kunstwerke, in *Zeitschrift des Ferdinandums*, III. Folge, Innsbruck, 1896, pp. 145-178. The scenes of the swan knight on the Embriachi caskets, discussed by Sant'Ambrogio and Schlosser, are also mentioned by Semper.

LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

By W. L. M. BURKE*

OUR knowledge of the life and activity of Lucas Cranach the Elder is unfortunately not of a complete nature. Although from 1505 until his death in 1553 the records are sufficiently complete to give a relatively clear picture of his activities, even during this time there are uncertainties which cause considerable difficulty in estimating the probable source of influences which affect his style at different stages of his career. Nevertheless, in comparison with his first thirty-three years of life, the records of his manifold activities at the Electoral Saxon court are very satisfying.

Until the time of Schuchardt¹ the story of Cranach's early life was quite uncertain; this author dispelled the current opinion that Cranach already in 1493 was in the service of Frederick the Wise, for in that year the latter made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and that the artist was in his entourage, had been assumed, without any factual basis. Schuchardt, however, had very little of a positive nature to offer regarding this period of darkness; indeed, until about forty years ago little of value had emerged from the search for and the study of his works dating before 1505. Instead, much criticism was spent on the problem of his family name —was it Sunder (Sonder) or Müller (Moller, Mohler, etc.)? and on the so-called Pseudo-Grünewald problem, which concerned a group of works done around 1520. Happily, these minor and relatively unprofitable discussions were settled by 1900, for by that time the search for information as to Cranach's activity before 1505 was being rewarded by the constant discovery of new works—paintings, woodcuts, and drawings—and an image of the young painter as a man of quite different temperament from that which had hitherto been current, slowly crystallized.

Several of these works had, indeed, been known and definitely attributed to Cranach for many years before the great exhibition of 1899 in Dresden, notably the Repose on the Flight into Egypt which is signed and dated 1504, but from the time of Schuchardt until the 1890's this was almost the only work dating earlier than 1505 which was generally known and accepted.

In 1902, after the great Cranach exhibition, Friedländer² listed the works of Cranach's early period which he accepted—the Crucifixion dated 1503 in Munich (then in Schleissheim), already attributed by Rieffel in 1895;³ the Berlin Repose of 1504, already attributed to Cranach by Schuchardt in 1851, when the painting was still in the Sciarra collection in Rome; the portrait of Dr. Reuss in the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg, likewise attributed by Rieffel in 1893; the drawing

* I am indebted to the Germanistic Society of America for having granted me a fellowship for the year 1932-33, which enabled me to study in Germany, and to the frequent advice and assistance of Professors Panofsky, Morey, and Friend.

1. Christian Schuchardt, *Lucas Cranach des Älteren*

Leben und Werke, Leipzig, 1851, 2 volumes; 1871, third volume.

2. M. J. Friedländer, *Die frühesten Werke Cranachs*, in *Jahrb. preuss. Kunstsmlgn.*, XXIII (1902), pp. 232 ff.

3. Rieffel, *Kleine Kunsthistorische Controversfragen*: II, in *Rep. f. K.*, XVIII (1895) pp. 424 ff.

of a pair of lovers in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, which had been brought by Woltmann in connection with Cranach⁴ when it was in the Suermondt collection; the painting of St. Valentine with a donor in Vienna, mentioned by Scheibler in a footnote in 1887⁵ and the two woodcuts of the Crucifixion with Mary and John which, although listed by Passavant (IV, 40, 1, and IV, 40, 2), were first really well known through Flechsig's *Cranachstudien* of 1900.

In 1903 Campbell Dodgson⁶ added three woodcuts, the Dresden Crucifixion and the plates of the Crucifixion and St. Stephan of the Passau Missal, and with these works gave much greater emphasis to the belief that the years immediately preceding 1505 had been spent by Cranach in Austria, a probability which Rieffel had suggested in 1895, when he pointed out the similarity in coloring and dramatic temper between the Munich Crucifixion of 1503 and the "Donaustil."

In the years following, a gradual increase has taken place, so that Friedländer in 1932⁷ is safely justified in attributing twenty-two works to the young Cranach.

There are, indeed, other sources of information than the works that Cranach was in Austria; they are not as definite as could be desired but in connection with the works themselves, they confirm Cranach's sojourn before 1505 in the Danube region. We know that he was born in 1472 in the town of Kronach, which was in the lands of the bishop of Bamberg, both from the inscription on his tombstone in the Jakobskirchhof at Weimar, and from the "Memorial" of Malthäus Gunderam, who was, from 1546 to 1556, tutor in the family of the younger Lucas Cranach. This memorial states that Cranach learned painting from his father, about whom we know almost nothing, and that after he had attained signal fame, he was called to Saxony in 1504, after the Bavarian War.⁸

Very recently, Paul Strack⁹ published the first documentary evidence of Lucas Cranach's existence before 1505, although it has, unfortunately, no bearing on his artistic activity. It concerns an action for slander brought by Kunz Donat and his stepmother Anna Welch, *geborene* Raif, against Hans Maler and his son Lukas. It was begun "nach Lätare 1495" and the action dragged on until some time "nach Trinitatis 1498," during which time it seems that Lucas was in Kronach,

4. Woltmann, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, IX (1874), p. 202.

5. Scheibler, *Ueber altdeutsche Gemälde in der Kaiserlichen Galerie zu Wien*, in *Rep. f. K.*, X (1887), p. 296.

6. C. Dodgson, *Fünf unbeschriebene Holzschnitte Lucas Cranachs*, in *Jahrb. preuss. Kunstsammln.*, XXIV (1903) pp. 284 ff.

7. Friedländer and Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach*, 1932, pp. 2 ff.

8. Schuchardt's translation of the appropriate portion of this Latin memorial is—"und er erlernte die Kunst (artem graphicam) bei seinem Vater. Als er sich darin besondern Ruhm erworben hatte, sich vor Andern auszeichnete, wurde er im Jahre 1504 nach dem bairischen Krieg nach Sachsen zu dem Herzog Friedrich, Kurfürst zu Sachsen, berufen, bei welchem er fortwährend blieb...."

Schuchardt notes that this war, that of the Succession to Lower Bavaria between Rupert of the Palatinate

and Duke Albert of Munich, was settled only on the first of July, 1505, at the Reichstag in Cologne. However, having begun on the 17th of April, 1504, it came to a "Waffenstillstand" on the 9th of February, 1505. Whether Cranach actually reached Saxony in 1504 will probably remain doubtful; the war was waged chiefly in the vicinity of Regensburg and up and down the Isar and Inn, making traveling along this main road from Vienna to Nuremberg, very uncertain. At any rate, the first documentary evidence of Cranach's residence is in the late spring of 1505—"XI fl. Lucas Maler von Cranach zu Natoff uf beuelh pfleß. als Im m. g. Hern zu dinst habern innengenommen montag nach jubilate zu thorgaw," according to Gurlitt, *Die Kunst unter Kurfürst Friedrich dem Weisen* (Archivalische Forschungen, II), Dresden 1897.

9. P. Strack, *Lukas Cranachs Herkunft, Familien-geschichtliche Blätter*, XXIII (1925), pp. 233 ff.

at least for a part of the time. However, whether he had been there constantly before 1495, or how soon after 1498 he may have left, is uncertain.

The literary references to his having been in Austria are few and inconclusive; Christopher Scheurl's "Lobrede," which was printed December 6, 1508, tells that Cranach is reported once to have painted grapes on a table in Austria so successfully that magpies flew to it and were so unwilling to believe them unreal that their pecking and clawing destroyed the new work.¹⁰ This panegyric is so full of fulsome flattery, and contains so many demonstrable errors that it must be used with care. Another reference is of much the same nature, since it is a story told by Melanchthon in 1557 in one of his lectures—Cranach is alleged to have told the Bishop of Mainz that he was once ill, in Vienna thirty-two years before. Inasmuch as the date of this reputed conversation is unknown as well as the identity of the bishop, the date of illness can hardly be fixed with any degree of accuracy, other than that it must have been before 1505, since his life thereafter is relatively well accounted for.

In 1500 he must have left Kronach and been well on the road to Vienna. Nuremberg lay on his way and it seems improbable that he would not have spent a short time there, at just the time when the city was the center of tremendous artistic activity, and when the new style of Dürer was beginning to make itself felt throughout southern Germany. He must have seen Dürer's woodcuts of the Apocalypse, for his earliest efforts are hardly conceivable without a knowledge of these powerfully dramatic works. From these he undoubtedly gained considerable technical experience, for only three years later he was commissioned by the Viennese publisher Winterburger to make decorations for a folio edition of a missal, the Passau Missal of 1503, of which only the Crucifixion and the St. Stephen seem surely to be from his hand. In the same year Dr. Reuss, rector of the University, had Cranach paint portraits of himself and his wife. These two commissions are clear evidence of his repute with persons of importance in the city, a position he can hardly have attained in less than three years.

From these diverse indications a strong case is made out for his activity for four or more years in Austria, especially when taken in conjunction with the remaining works of the twenty-two listed by Friedländer, for they are in their entirety to be understood only in relation to the preceding and subsequent artistic activity in the Danube-Inn-Salzach region.

The style of the works produced there continues to be one of the most baffling of which to make a consistently coherent picture. The works of Altdorfer of Regensburg and of Wolf Huber of Passau, which begin around 1507-10, and in which the "Danube style" finds its ultimate form, are simply the last step of a development of many rather disparate elements which had nevertheless begun to show a generally common character by the 1480's.

Friedländer has pointed out that an understanding of Cranach's early style must take into consideration three factors, the influence of his father Hans and the current artistic style in Kronach, Dürer's Apocalypse woodcuts, and, finally, the stimulus of the works which were being produced in the region between Regensburg and Vienna around 1500.

10. Schuchardt, *op. cit.*; the "Lobrede" is quoted in extenso in volume I.

The "Kronach style" is unknown; perhaps the works done there were in the current, potent, and influential style of Nuremberg. Yet there is another possible source of influence nearer Kronach and one which, during the period 1450-1507, showed considerable deviations from the Nuremberg style of Hans Pleydenwurff and Michael Wolgemut—that of Bamberg.

Pleydenwurff, who seems to have been born in Bamberg, introduced into Nuremberg, where he was active from 1451 until his death in 1472, that first draught of Netherlandish naturalism which was spreading throughout Germany, based on the works of Roger van der Weyden and, to a less degree, on Dirk Bouts. The Calvary in the Munich Pinakothek (c. 1460) (Fig. 1) shows not only this influence in the figure types, arrangement of drapery folds and deep landscape, with, however, no real feeling for spatial arrangement, since the many figures are crowded up into the foreground, but also the powerfully dramatic character which is more developed here than anywhere in southern Germany at this time. Wolgemut, his successor as leading painter in Nuremberg, began in a style very close to that of Pleydenwurff, in the altar of the Trinitatiskirche at Hof (1465). But gradually a change came in the growth of more specifically German characteristics—greater interest in the study of nature, of plants and animals, and of the prevailing human types of a great bourgeois city like Nuremberg.

Pleydenwurff's heritage was, however, not for Nuremberg alone, for a number of works still in Bamberg or its vicinity, dating after 1451, seem to owe their origin to him, and to the earliest phase of his work, as in the portrait of Graf Löwenstein in the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg. The Löwenstein Crucifixion (c. 1470) in Nuremberg (Fig. 2) is obviously influenced by the 1460 Munich Calvary, but is softer and weaker in the drawing, and the softer colors and modeling clearly differentiate it from the current Nuremberg works. Weinberger¹¹ postulates a rather loose school in Bamberg, and collects a small group of works which have several similar qualities: preference for dull, deep tones of color, such as Pleydenwurff used in his earliest works and a much greater interest in landscape, which is of a general brownish tone, than was prevalent in Nuremberg.

However, no degree of certainty as to the effect these works may have had on Cranach is as yet ascertainable. The earliest of his paintings, the Schottenstift Crucifixion in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Fig. 8), gives a quite different color experience. Certainly, also the drawing, the modeling of the drapery and of the flesh parts, and the figure types are very different from those of this so-called Bamberg school.

In Bavaria and the Danube region from the middle of the fifteenth century there had been two relatively clearly defined tendencies—one in a more powerfully expressive direction, which led to wild gesticulation of rough and boorish figures and violent movement of drapery and light and shade, whereas along the Danube, just as around Lake Constance earlier, there was an increasingly greater interest in space and spatial relations. The Swabian style of Konrad Witz, which was based

11. Martin Weinberger, *Nürnberger Malerei an der Wende zur Renaissance und die Anfänge der*

Dürerschule (Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, 217), Strasburg, 1921.



FIG. 1—Munich, Pinakothek:
Crucifixion, by Hans Pleydenwurff



FIG. 2—Nuremberg, Germanisches Museum:
Löwenstein Crucifixion, by a Painter of
the Bamberg School



FIG. 3—Stift St. Florian:
Death of the Virgin, by a Follower of
Marx Reichlich



FIG. 4—Munich, Staatsbibliothek: *Moses on
Mt. Sinai in Missal for the Archbishop
of Salzburg*, by Berthold Furtmeyr



FIG. 5—*Klosterneuburg, Stiftskirche: Scene from Altarpiece, by Rueland Frühauf the Younger*



FIG. 6—*Woodcut of Christ's Agony in the Garden, by a Painter of the Danube School*



FIG. 7—*Munich, Bayer. Nationalmuseum: Altarpiece of St. Peter, by Jan Pollack*

to a great degree on the works of the Burgundian Maître de Flémalle, was followed by an increasing interest in the more exact solution of spatial problems in the perspective studies which Michael Pacher brought back to Tyrol from his presumptive visit to Padua. In the period immediately preceding Cranach's entry into this region, which we assume to be between 1498 and 1500, there were active a number of men whose style seems to give a forewarning of him, yet specific links are almost completely lacking. Each center of activity, Munich, Regensburg, Passau, Salzburg, has its champions as the center of the stimuli which were to form the "Donaustil," or to create the earlier style of young Cranach.

The pupil of Pacher who was working in Salzburg in the late 90's, Marx Reichlich, according to Benesch¹² had a dominant influence upon young Cranach, yet the interest in perspective, in roomy interiors which are characteristic of the Pacher school, do not appear in any of Cranach's early works. Similarly the short, heavy figures of Reichlich with their too large heads, the sharp contrasts of light and shade, which when combined with the long folds of drapery, cause sharp edges of high light next to dark shadows, do not appear in the early paintings or woodcuts of Cranach. The savage, bestial tormentors of Christ in Reichlich's Crowning with Thorns and Flogging in Schleissheim are simply characteristic of this type of representation throughout South German painting at the end of the fifteenth century, and nowhere in Cranach's early work are similar figures found. However, there must have been some sort of connection between the two men, if only in the work in the Stift St. Florian, which Benesch first attributed to Cranach under the influence of Reichlich, and later, and more correctly, attributed to a follower of Reichlich who was influenced by Cranach's types and technique. For certainly the proportions of the figures are closer to those of Cranach, as is the soft, almost blurred manner of painting the faces, especially to be seen in The Death of the Virgin (Fig. 3), which is so like the treatment in the Schottenstift Crucifixion or the 1502 St. Jerome in Vienna. And although the typical interior space of the Pacher circle is retained, the drapery as well has become softer—the contrast of light and shade is not so hard as in Reichlich's works, but is arranged with many more variations in tonality, as in Cranach's work.

Regensburg, which was to become one of the chief centers of the Danube style with Altdorfer, had already found a native son who was very much enamored of landscapes, the miniaturist Berthold Furtmeyr. In his early work, such as the Allegory of the Fall in the Gradual for St. Emmeran, the elements are arranged in the old Gothic tapestry-like manner. However, in the great Missal for the Archbishop of Salzburg begun in 1481 and finished five years later, there are landscapes like that representing Moses on Mt. Sinai (Fig. 4) with a far-ranging view beyond the angular mountain over distant fields and shore line to hazy blue mountains at the horizon. Altdorfer, like Cranach a few years before him, was to carry this further, observing the natural relations of the component elements of a deep landscape more closely, and combining them to create a more real effect, yet at the same time, from their choice of particular forms, to create an indubitably romantic genre.

12. Otto Benesch, *Zur altoesterreichischen Tafelmalerei*, in *Jahrb. Kunsth. Samml.*, N. F. II (1928),

pp. 63 ff.; also *Zu Cranachs Anfängen*, in *Belvedere*, XIV (1929); pp. 144 ff.

The other greater painter of this region in the early sixteenth century, Wolf Huber of Passau, may have found a similar predisposition for landscape in his native city, for there are several scenes in the Klosterneuburg altarpiece (1501) of Rueland Frühauf the Younger, which are of an extraordinary lyric quality (Fig. 5). In them the human figures are only a part of a larger nature; they no longer stand in front of a backdrop, but are placed within the space continuum. However, it is not a real solution of the space problem, but only an apparent one that has yet a sufficient appearance of reality.¹³

But one of the essential characteristics of the Danube style, as of the early works of Cranach, does not appear in these works of Furtmeyr and Frühauf the younger, that is, the passionate character of expression—the drastic and dramatic contrasts of colors and lighting in the sky and throughout the land, the wild and passionate gestures of the figures, such as the uncontrolled self-mortification of St. Jerome (Fig. 9), the abandoned fervor of St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata, the torment of Christ's Agony in the Garden in the Metropolitan woodcut (Fig. 6) or the fierce struggle of one of the crucified thieves against his bonds, in the Berlin drawing. This dramatic struggle had been the keynote of Bavarian painting from before the middle of the fifteenth century, when a painter like Gabriel Mälesskircher was producing his numerous Crucifixions, in which an enormous crowd of people stare dully or gesticulate wildly, weep uncontrollably, or fight vigorously and passionately over the partition of Christ's robe.

Works of the same violent character, but with figures less gnomish and grotesque in appearance, were being done in Munich from 1484 to 1519 by Jan Pollack, and it is to him that Glaser¹⁴ attributes the primary importance of having incited Cranach to such wildly gesticulating and struggling figures as those in the drawing of the two thieves in Berlin or the woodcut Crucifixions. It is very likely that Cranach saw such works of Pollack as the St. Francis altarpiece (1492) or the St. Peter altarpiece (c. 1490) (Fig. 7), though he is obviously more advanced in making the horizon lower and so obtaining the impression of coherent and continuous space, and also in the more energetic stressing of movement, which his more fluid and less sharply defined drawing permit. The same Bavarian painter probably influenced another painter, this time a Swabian, who was working in Lower Austria during the period 1500-04 (?), Jörg Breu the Elder, of Augsburg, in several of whose works¹⁵ (Fig. 10), this fantastic wildness is evident, and therein Breu offers an interesting parallel to Cranach. However, it seems most probable that the major influence, on Cranach at any rate, was from Dürer.

Dürer's first trip to Italy, presumably in 1494-5, was of overwhelming importance not only for him, but, through him, for the whole progressive current of German painting of the sixteenth century. He brought back from it not the complicated perspective, the interest in space per se, which had interested Michael Pacher above

13. Otto Fischer, *Die Altdeutsche Malerei in Salzburg* (*Kunstgeschichtliche Monographien*, XII) Leipzig, 1908, p. 120.

14. Curt Glaser, *Lukas Cranach*, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 18 ff.

15. Otto Benesch, *Der Zwettler Altar und die Anfänge Jörg Breu*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, II (1928) pp. 229 ff.; also Ernest Buchner, *Der Ältere Breu als Maler*, in *ibid.*, II (1928), pp. 272 ff.



FIG. 9—Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum:
St. Jerome, by Lucas Cranach



FIG. 8—Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum:
Schottenstift Crucifixion, by Lucas Cranach



FIG. 10—Herzogenburg, Austria: Flagellation, by Jörg Breu the Elder



FIG. 11—Woodcut of the Crucifixion,
by Lucas Cranach



FIG. 12—Vienna, K. K. Hofbibliothek:
St. Stephen, from the Passau Missal,
by Lucas Cranach

all else, but primarily a wholly new conception, for a Transalpine painter, of the human body and of its primacy as the vehicle of expression in the representative arts. There follow immediately thereafter a great and extraordinary series of works in which the Italian conception of the forms and movements of the body, as they existed in the works of the Pollaiuolo brothers and Mantegna especially, are translated carefully, as in the Hamburg drawing of The Death of Hercules, the Tarocchi drawings, and other mythological subjects, or are used to increase the dignity and impressiveness of the dying Gothic subjects.¹⁶

As Voss very well points out, this is not an uncritical borrowing, for the Gothic elements persist throughout his life; at first there is a very unstable balance—an instability and consequent inward struggle which was highly profitable, however, for to it we owe one of the greatest of his works, the woodcuts of the Apocalypse. Thereafter there is an increase in the clarifying and rationalizing tendency of the Italians to which we owe the larger and simpler treatment of individual figures and compositions. But it is just this work between 1495 and 1500, when the struggle to assimilate the desired novelty to the inherited manner of seeing is at its height, that is so important for the understanding of the earliest works of Cranach.

For the first dated work of Cranach, the 1502 woodcut of the Crucifixion (P. IV, 40, 1) (Fig. 11), is technically and compositionally unthinkable without the earlier woodcuts of Dürer—the strong contrasts of black and white, which are even increased in the St. Stephan of the Passau Missal (1502) (L. 5) (Fig. 12), and in the Metropolitan Agony in the Garden (c. 1503) (Fig. 6), are unparalleled at this date except for the Dürer woodcuts beginning with Samson and the Lion (B. 2) (Fig. 13). These contrasts of light and dark and rushing line are even further heightened in the sculptures and, to a less extent, the engravings, of Veit Stoss, who represents the final stage of Gothic linear movement in Nuremberg. In Dürer's woodcuts of 1495-1500 this is decreased, but with a consequent appearance of a meaningful enrichment of his technique, an emphasis on clarity of the component elements and a far greater increase in the beauty of the sheet as a whole, without, however, any real loss in a tremendous gamut of values of black to white. In Cranach there is also a considerable slackening of intensity of contrasts, though he carries on the looser drawing and very rich contours which Dürer brought into woodcuts. Indeed, this looser drawing is what is so very characteristic and distinguishing about the early paintings as well, for they seem less influenced by the technique of Dürer's paintings, and of those of his predecessors in the Danube region—Reichlich, Pollack, Frühauf the Younger, than by Dürer's woodcuts.

Indeed, Cranach seems to have come to South Germany at a time when great changes were taking place, but when no dominant tendency had become fully started and no definite goal selected. Had he first come to Nuremberg or Regensburg in 1507, he would have found Dürer ardently striving for the norm of the human body, and Altdorfer beginning to create his romantic world in which the human figure is little more than an accessory in the larger world of nature, the two currents

16. For the Italian trip of 1494-5 and its effect upon Dürer see especially, Hans Tietze, und E. Tietze-Conrat, *Der junge Dürer*, Augsburg, 1928, p.

305; Ed. Flechsig, *Albrecht Dürer*, Berlin, 1928, vol. I, pp. 148 ff.; W. Weisbach, *Der junge Dürer*, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 29 ff.

which were to be dominant in South Germany for the next twenty years. However, these trends had not yet been clearly formulated, and he was apparently eager to see what was being done elsewhere, so that he kept pushing on to new centers of activity until he finally came to one, Vienna, where there was no one so competent as he to give patrons the results of what he had learned, a mixture of divergent ingredients, or ingredients soon to diverge, but which were held in balance by his sure craftsmanship and flexible character.

This amalgam consisted of numerous figure motifs derived from Dürer, as well as the technique of wood-block engraving, whose looseness and richness of outline he then carried over into painting. In addition, the emphasis on landscape seen in the *Apocalypse* prints was increased by the work he must have seen in Regensburg, Passau, and Klosterneuburg. Finally, the rude, boorish types of many of his figures, like their over-emphatically passionate outbursts, he may well have seen at the middle of his journey, in the works of Pollack in Bavaria.

* *

The first paintings of Cranach after 1504 reveal numerous changes in his style, and although the qualities of this early Saxon style do not differ from the earlier works so much as has often been thought, the transition which was affected by, or was possibly only contemporaneous with, his departure from the pregnant South German centers to the more sterile northeast, is made more easily in considering his woodcuts of 1505-09, than in the paintings of this same period.

In the *Adoration of the Heart of Jesus* of 1505 (L. 1) (Fig. 14) the technique and types continue to have the same character already seen in the works of 1502 and 1503, but the exaggerated wildness and passion of line and emotion have been greatly tempered, the figures are more contained and solid, there is a general simplification and quieting, yet the types continue to repeat those of Dürer in the *Apocalypse* woodcuts. The putti alone are more advanced in style, more in the spirit of the Renaissance even than those of the *Repose during the Flight into Egypt* of 1504 (Fig. 20). It is in the next few years that Cranach was most strongly influenced by Italian types, yet these very same years began to reveal the elements of what was to be his developed style, one which is totally opposed to the aims and essential character of the Renaissance. Indeed, the angels bearing the Magdalen, in the woodcut of the *Translation of the Magdalen to Heaven* (L. 7) Fig. 15) of the same year, 1505, have already lost the conscious rhythmic arrangement seen in the angels of the *Adoration* (Fig. 14), and are fast becoming the swollen-headed and swollen-limbed children typical of work ten and twenty years later.¹⁷

The first painting after his arrival in Saxony is the altarpiece in Dresden, of the

17. This Renaissance character visible in the angels of the *Adoration* woodcut is carried on into the next year in the *St. George* (L. 5) of 1506, which as Weinberger (*In Cranachs Jugendentwicklung*, in *Zeitschr. f. Kunstgesch.* II, 1 (1933), pp. 10 ff.) has pointed out, seems derived directly from the figure of St. Eustace of the *Baumgartner* altarpiece in Munich. Yet

Cranach has made no cold copy, for technically it is one of the finest woodcuts of the whole period, and spiritually he is what Glaser calls him, "das Urbild des deutschen Ritters," who will, in a few years, have passed the height of his usefulness and glory and with the rise of Protestantism and the bourgeoisie, have become a purposeless anachronism.



FIG. 13—Woodcut of Samson,
by Dürer



FIG. 14—Woodcut of the Adoration of
the Heart of Jesus, by Lucas Cranach



FIG. 15—Woodcut of the Translation
of the Magdalen, by Lucas Cranach



FIG. 16—Woodcut of St. Jerome,
by Lucas Cranach



FIG. 17—*Sts. Barbara, Ursula, and Margaret*



FIG. 18—*Martyrdom of St. Catherine*



FIG. 19—*Sis. Dorothy, Agnes, and Kunigunde*
Dresden, Picture Gallery: Triptych by Lucas Cranach

Martyrdom of St. Catherine (Figs. 17-19), signed and dated 1506. A distinct change from the earlier paintings is evident here, and this marks an appropriate place at which to begin an analysis of the changes which were taking place and consequently defining his earlier and then his developed style.

Perhaps the most striking contrast is that of emotional tone; the dramatic character which Cranach would have infused into such a scene of martyrdom two years earlier, as in the woodcut of the Agony in the Garden (Fig. 6), or in the all-embracing fervor of St. Francis receiving the Stigmata in Vienna, is completely lacking. Characteristic, however, is such a contrast as is seen between the drastic self-mortification of St. Jerome in Vienna (Fig. 9) and the technically rich, but emotionally flaccid posturing of the same saint in the woodcut of 1509 (L. 26) (Fig. 16). All later representations of Jerome continue this lax emotional quality. That the change is not abrupt throughout his work can be seen in several woodcuts, like the Temptation of St. Anthony (L. 2), or some of the scenes from the series of the Passion of Christ of 1509, where many of the brutish figures of the first representations of the Crucifixion are preserved; indeed, in the Temptation there is even an increase in the emotional quality from the heightened vividness of his technique, the increased crispness of line and stronger contrasts of black and white areas. And from another point of view, the lowered dramatic tension of the Martyrdom of St. Catherine has been prepared in the Schleissheim Crucifixion in Munich (Fig. 21), where the contemplative character of the subject is stressed, dispensing with the numerous accessory figures usually present in his early representations of this subject.¹⁸

Indeed, even the portraits of the Viennese period, like that of Dr. Johannes Cuspinian (Fig. 22) in the Reinhart collection in Winterthur,¹⁹ have a vigor of mentality as well as of bodily existence, no longer evident in the Portrait of Dr. Christopher Scheurl of 1509, in Nuremberg (Fig. 23). Indeed, in the latter portrait are clearly visible many of the characteristics of Cranach's developed style.²⁰ Most immediately evident is the isolation of the figure from its surroundings, for the background serves not so much as a setting in which the figure is placed, as a foil to it, and the lack of cast shadows and the presence of large inscriptions emphasize the absence of space. At the same time the contour of the figure is beginning to be more clearly outlined and even interior drawing lines are becoming important in themselves, as in the unnatural left side of the neck. Although not nearly so advanced in possessing the qualities of his developed style as the later portraits, the increasingly hieratic manner of presentation and the gradual flattening of the individual parts,

18. The two early woodcuts, Dresden, c. 1502, and the Passau Missal canon page of 1502-03 reveal Mary and John alone with the Crucified, but in the traditional late mediaeval symmetrical composition, and with more objective expression of grief in the figures. Both of these types occur side by side throughout his career, and the final variant is that of 1539 formerly in the princely collection in Bückeburg, where it becomes specifically didactic, the centurion is alone before the crosses, and from his mouth issue the words of his witnessing: "Warlich diser Mensch ist Gotes son gewest."

19. This portrait type, where the figure is completely related to the landscape background, undoubtedly goes back to the type created by Dürer, such as can be seen in the good copy by Anton Neubauer in the Portrait of a Young Man in Darmstadt, the original of which Flechsig dates 1497-98.

20. For the best discussion of Cranach's portraits and their place in German painting see von Holst, *Die deutsche Bildnismalerei zur Zeit des Manierismus* (*Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 273), Strassburg, 1930, and von Holst, *Die ostdeutsche Bildnismalerei des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *Zeitschr. f. Kunstgesch.*, I, 1 (1932), pp. 19 ff.

such as the hands and the right arm and shoulder, for the sake of the decorative organization of the whole area, are equally evident.

Only five years later these characteristics were pushed nearly to their climax in the magnificent full-length portraits of Duke Henry the Pious of Saxony (Fig. 26) and his wife, Duchess Catherine, in Berlin. The rather careful, solid modeling of the face makes it seem even more evidently a cutout pasted onto a wonderfully rich and decorative court costume, but a costume impossible to wear because of its fantastic slits and slashes as well as its flatness. The duchess' robe is quite as fine as her husband's but to give greater contrast to the large-patterned brocade, Cranach chose to arrange it in parallel convex folds flaring slightly to the ground, a scheme often repeated since its earliest appearances in the undated woodcut of the Landesknecht and Maiden, and the figure of St. Kunigunde in the Catherine altarpiece in Dresden (Fig. 19). Their gestures, too, with arms akimbo, and the extraordinary position of the duke's legs, down which the high lights are quite arbitrarily arranged, as well as the curving lines of the dog, silhouetted against the dark background, heighten incomparably this flatness and decorative linear rhythm.

Never again did the elder Cranach paint such monumentally decorative portraits as are the figures of the Elector Frederick the Wise and St. Bartholomew in the Adoration of the Virgin and Child in the Haberstock Gallery in Berlin.²¹ And yet they are perhaps even further removed from reality through the complete absence of space available to them, wedged as they are between the overpoweringly decorative brocaded background and the incredible *prie-dieu*. The hands, which are so incapable of grasping anything, and which von Holst calls "intestinal-like" ("Eingeweideformen"), are accentuated in the portrait of the elderly Elector in Gotha,²² where the gloves are slit to enable their wearer to retain his many rings upon his fingers. This motif is then carried further to form the essence of such a portrait as that of a Young Woman in the Museum of Lyons, in 1534 (Fig. 24). Here there are no slit gloves, but the puffs in the sleeves, which reduced the arms to complicated, but flat patterns, are repeated infinitely in the chains at her breast, necklace, diadem, pearl-sewn hair net and gorget and even in her knobby knuckles and fingernails, a perfect tour de force of repetition of a single motif, varied only with the fine horizontals of the lacings and verticals in the pleats of her shirtwaist.

The only essential exception to this tendency, which eventually reached its logical conclusion in the doll-like figures of the younger Cranach, is the engraved²³ portrait of Luther as a Monk (L. 61) (Fig. 25), a work both harsh and unflattering, yet which shows the Augustinian as a man who has won through to a fixed resolve by unsparing self-examination and self-discipline. The later portraits of the reformer reveal the distance from his days of trial and show instead the head of a powerful church, becoming in time an hieratic, didactic icon, as in the portrait in a private collection in New York.²⁴

21. Friedländer and Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, 76.

22. *Ibid.*, 128.

23. Despite his ability as a designer of woodcuts, Cranach's engravings are few and not of very high quality. As in woodcuts, he was undoubtedly brought to this medium through Dürer, for the first engraving,

The Penance of St. John Chrysostom (L. 58), of 1509, is a weak copy of Dürer's engraving of the same subject (B. 63), as is that of Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg.

24. Friedländer and Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, 340. Although Cranach is often considered the painter par



FIG. 21—Munich, Alte Pinakothek: Schleissheim
Crucifixion, by Lucas Cranach



FIG. 20—Berlin, Königliche Museum: Repose on
the Flight, by Lucas Cranach



FIG. 22—*Winterthur, Reinhart Collection: Portrait of Dr. Johannes Cuspinian, by Lucas Cranach*



FIG. 23—*Nuremberg, Scheurl Collection: Portrait of Dr. Christopher Scheurl, by Lucas Cranach*



FIG. 24—*Lyons, Museum: Portrait of Young Woman, by Lucas Cranach*



FIG. 25—*Engraved Portrait of Luther as a Monk, by Lucas Cranach*

Having now seen in a single genre the characteristic changes in Cranach's style, announced, indeed, as early as 1509, it will be necessary to return to a detailed examination of these criteria with respect to his larger and more frequent and more typical works, the religious and mythological subjects.

The tall, narrow format of panel, already seen in the portrait of the Duke of Saxony, is a commonplace in Cranach's works, recurring constantly from the early representation of St. Francis, or its companion piece, St. Valentine with Donor, likewise in Vienna,²⁵ where the very form lends monumentality to the figure. More commonly, however, in the later works, the result is to stress the delicacy of the figure, for the painter exaggerates the height increasingly, until it reaches such preposterous proportions as in the figures of Sts. Catherine and Barbara in Dresden (Fig. 27). Here the vertical extension increases the lack of rotundity of the form, despite the flaring skirt, and consequently insists upon the essential decorative flatness of the figures. In these specific instances, the neutral background is present solely as a foil to the sweeping contour of the gently swaying figure of St. Catherine, while the verticality of St. Barbara is repeated in the still more vertical round tower.

Such a shaped panel is not necessary, however, for such a decrease in space available to the figures, for the nearly square Martyrdom of St. Catherine in Dresden (Fig. 18)²⁶ shows a large number of figures crowded together on far too narrow a stage, while the landscape background is of much less importance than formerly, for although vistas into the distance appear, the whole emphasis is upon the figures, and

excellence of Protestantism, he is so only in the most primitive sense, just as the Reformation itself, in the first century of its existence was a return to a more primitive Christianity. It was reserved for the seventeenth century, and especially for Rembrandt, to learn and express more of the positive meaning of the redemption of every man through faith, which had been so nearly lost in the piling up of traditions and doctrines during the Middle Ages.

A prelude to Cranach's Protestant activity may be seen in two works. The first is The Twelve Commandments in Wittemberg (Friedländer and Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, 69), where there is a purely factual account of human actions, usually the disobedience of the commandment being at the instigation of small demons, yet quite clearly the men are the primary actors and consequently alone responsible, which contrasts so strongly with the examples of the late Middle Ages, where angels and demons battle for possession of the soul. The other representation is that of the Dying Man in Leipzig, of 1518 (*ibid.*, 86), which presents a kind of syncopated version of the theme of the "Ars Moriendi" which found such great favor throughout northern Europe in the fifteenth century.

Cranach's most famous new themes are: Christ Blessing Little Children and Christ with the Adulteress, which, as Preuss points out in *Die deutsche Frömmigkeit im Spiegel der bildenden Kunst*, Berlin, 1926, p. 182, probably owes its origin to Luther's belief in the importance of children to Protestantism and his violent antagonism to the Anabaptists in 1528, when the text of John about the adulteress finds a close parallel in Mark, where Christ is asked about

divorce by the Pharisees, and he then calls to Him and blesses the children.

In addition are his two polemics, the woodcut *Passional Christi und Antichristi*, which offered striking parallels between the humble life of Christ and the proud and overbearing acts of the one who called himself Christ's vicar, the pope. Certainly it was a more forceful representation than the numerous pictures of an allegory of the Fall and Salvation of Man (*ibid.*, 183), where several occurrences are shown within a single landscape, which by this time (1529) has become arranged in a number of very sharply defined segments, a return to a typically mediaeval conception of composition.

25. Friedländer and Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, 2.

26. The female head types on the wings, one in Dresden, the other in Lützschena near Leipzig, are very much like that of the Virgin in the *Repose of 1504*. However, the drapery of St. Dorothy with its numerous, soft, parallel folds, which is not usual in Cranach's works finds its best parallel in such works of Jacopo de' Barbari as the engraving of the Sacrifice to Priapus (K. 24) and the painting of St. Catherine in Dresden. This facial type is repeated with some frequency in Cranach's works during his first years in Saxony, at times giving way to the rounder, more bulbous type common in Barbari's engravings. The same soft, stringy hair, fleshy cheeks and chin and melancholic expression which occur in Sts. Barbara and Catherine, the Fourteen Saints in Torgau (Friedländer and Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, 15), and numerous other works of the first decade in Saxony, appear frequently in Barbari's paintings and engravings, making them quite tiresome in their uniformity.

the landscape is merely a reminiscence of settings such as that of the Schleissheim Crucifixion or of the Repose, where the volume of space is more than ample for the few figures, and is either continuous to the horizon, or at least is more readily acceptable as a realistic vision of space.

This is now the almost invariable character of the relation between figures and their setting, except for a very few works of around 1509. Here, especially in the Torgauer altarpiece of 1509, in Frankfurt-am-Main (Fig. 28), the clarity of the spatial arrangement is unusual, indeed, in all of Cranach's production, and although the derivation of this setting and of various of the figure types has been attributed to several different sources,²⁷ the clearest prototype would seem to be the altarpiece of 1508-9 of Quentin Massys, in Brussels, which he may have seen there on his trip through the Low Countries in 1508. In this work there appears the similar motif of a parapet filled with spectators in the background, as it does again in Cranach's large woodcut of the Beheading of John the Baptist (L. 53), presumably cut at this same period.

That this richness of motifs and able composition of the numerous figures in a small, but definitely established, space was not especially desirable in the line of his development is clearly seen in the Holy Family in Vienna (Fig. 29). Here the floor rises much more rapidly, is not marked with the differentiating geometric patterns found in the altarpiece in Frankfurt, and the figures are strewn over the picture surface in isolated, self-contained groups without any strong compositional unity. Although a modicum of intelligible space is still retained, the disappearance of really logical perspective, the isolation of figures or small groups, and the appearance of the characteristic uneasy stance of the figure, visible here in the figure of Zebedee at the right, are clear indications of the goal toward which Cranach is aiming—flat decoration, with the primary decorative elements contrasts between variously shaped areas, marked by figures with rhythmic or angular drapery folds and an eccentrically curving contour, quite unbalanced according to any classical standard, and it is indeed a return to late mediaeval modes of expression.

The increasing flatness of the figure, whether as a whole or in individual parts, is probably most clearly visible, aside from the portraits, in the nude figures. One of the problems which has most concerned the critics is the origin of his nude female types, which appear with increasing frequency from 1508, owing largely to his waxing interest in mythological subjects.²⁸

27. Glaser sees influence of the Leonardo circle, perhaps through the Netherlands; Rieffel and Swarzenski see both Netherlandish and Raphaelesque influences. The so-called Raphaelesque child is hard to explain at so early a date; undoubtedly there are analogies in the Madonna Conestabile dalla Staffa and the Bridgewater Madonna, but none of these were engraved by Marcantonio, and it is unlikely that knowledge of them would have come to Cranach. A fairly close prototype may be found in Dürer's engraving of the Madonna with the Monkey (B. 42).

28. Another altarpiece of this year, the so-called Fürstenaltar in Dessau (Friedländer and Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, 19), and the Madonna and Child in Breslau (*Ibid.* 28)

seem more closely associated with Italy, especially with Paduan-Venetian works, for although Dürer's Wittenberg altarpiece of 1496, now in Dresden, has the same half-length Madonna behind a parapet or balustrade, and putti similar, but tumbling about in much greater activity, the more direct stimulus of a Venetian work like Giambellino's Madonna in the Prado Museum seems necessary, especially in view of the rather cooler colors, the slight smile on the Virgin's lips, and the little angels with their gauzy drapery.

28. The first female nude, the Magdalen of the woodcut of 1505 (L. 7) (Fig. 17), derives from a late fifteenth century type, such as that of Dürer in the



FIG. 27—Dresden, Picture Gallery: *Sts. Catherine and Barbara*, by Lucas Cranach

FIG. 26—Dresden, Picture Gallery: *Portrait of Duke Henry the Pious of Saxony*, by Lucas Cranach



FIG. 28—Frankfurt-am-Main, *Kunst Inst.*: *Torgau Altarpiece*, by Lucas Cranach



FIG. 29—Vienna, *Akademie der Bildenden Künste*: *Heilige Sippe*, by Lucas Cranach



FIG. 30—Augsburg, *Maximiliansmuseum*: *Samson and Delilah*, by Lucas Cranach

The first great female nudes are those of the Judgment of Paris in the woodcut of 1508 (L. 21) (Fig. 34), where the figures are so carefully modeled that they are very grey in tonality. Their tremendous weight is apparently derived from Dürer's engraving of the Four Witches of 1497 (B. 75), yet the great breadth of the goddesses makes undeniable the probable cross influence of Barbari as well; indeed, the lack of clarity in the position of the feet in the figures of his engraving of Fame and Victory (K. 36) may account for the swaying, tiptoe position of the central goddess in Cranach's representation.²⁹

These relatively heavy forms become gradually more and more slender following the contemporary tendency in North Italian art, as may be seen in the woodcut of Venus and Amor (L. 8) (Fig. 35), which Flechsig shows must date from 1508, the year in which the dragon signature was bestowed upon Cranach, and not from 1506, as it is dated. Here the modeling is reduced and the figure kept quite light and free of shadow. The movement of the figure was to become typical of the numerous figures of Venus and Eve in later years; from what source it derives is uncertain, whether from the lack of clear arrangement in Barbari's figures, or from an unsuccessful attempt to take over the striding movement of Dürer's Eve in the painting of 1507 in the Prado Museum. Like the nudes of the Judgment of Paris woodcut, it is relatively unusual in his work, in the quite heavy proportions and in the earnest attempt at some measure of contrapposto, despite the complete failure to obtain any real organic movement in space. Very soon Cranach gave up all attempts at infusing into his figure the rhythmic contrapposto of the Italian Renaissance, and reverted again in movement, as in so many other qualities, to the two-dimensional, linear rhythm of the Middle Ages.

In the next year, 1509, appeared the first of the painted and the last of the large nudes, the monumental Venus and Amor in Leningrad (Fig. 31),³⁰ which repeats the step already seen in the development of the portraits, for the background has become neutral in order to display to greater advantage the uneasily balancing figure, whose unpleasantly earthy color and too precise modeling recall in some degree the female nudes of Mabuse, like that in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection at Rohoncz. The advantages of this dark background to stress the decorative quality of the contour and at the same time the area bounded by the contour is

drawing in the Veste Coburg collection (L. 605), before he had made his first trip to Italy. Dürer's development from the mediaeval to the fully formed Renaissance nude in the engraving of Adam and Eve of 1504 (B. 1) is easy to follow, whereas the new nude types of Cranach are to be derived only from Dürer and perhaps Barbari, and are not the result of any independent experimentation. However, once his favourite type is chosen, the development is constantly in the line and within the bounds of his general stylistic development.

29. For this curious manner of representing the theme, which is almost invariable north of the Alps from the middle of the fourteenth century, and the strange aberration of many of the critics of the nineteenth century who considered it a representation of Alfred of Mercia choosing a wife, see Rosenberg, *Von Paris von Troja bis zum König von Mercia: die*

Geschichte einer Schönheitskonkurrenz, Darmstadt, 1930, and Schuchardt, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 48 ff. The correction was made by Krause, in *Mercurius, der Schriftgott, in Deutschland*, in *Z. f. Bücherfreunde*, VII (1904), pp. 480 ff.

30. The desire to paint such a figure probably came, not so much from knowledge of works of Massys or Mabuse, as from the desire to vie with Dürer's great panels of 1507 of Adam and Eve now in the Prado. Yet these works, which were evidently well known in Germany at the time of their origin, as two almost contemporary copies are extant, seem not to be the primary source, for closer parallels exist in motifs in the engraving of 1504 (B. 1) and that called the Dream (B. 76), where the foot is turned in profile and the position of the left arm and hand is very similar, although in the Leningrad painting it has completely lost its motivation.

so obvious that Cranach uses it repeatedly from this time for very nearly all representations of nude figures, especially where only one or two figures appear. These later figures give up more and more the attempt at modeling a solid, weighty body, at giving organically explicable postures and gestures, and become, instead, graceful, slender little puppets who pose in a more or less intricate manner for their companions or the spectator, as may be seen in the Adam and Eve in Munich (Fig. 32).

The decorative quality is likewise accentuated by the quite arbitrary arrangement of Eve's hair, blown by the wind and forming a soft curving pattern which enriches the otherwise simple contrasts of dark setting and brightly lighted figure. This motif is then used repeatedly by Cranach not only for nudes, but occasionally in the figure of the Virgin, being a slight decorative variation paralleled by many others in his repeated representation of a relatively small variety of subjects. For, despite the increasing production of his shop from the twenties, no exact replicas were made, always there are slight variations in the drapery, position of head, hands, or feet, or other elements which are generally to be referred to no definite prototype outside of Cranach but to his desire to recombine the original elements in a new way, which may perhaps be more piquant, emotionally and decoratively.³¹

The only changes of importance which Cranach makes with the female nude hereafter are to make it more slender and delicate and flat, and introduce a new contrast in the contours by showing one half the body *en face*, the other in profile, as in the Eve in Dresden (Fig. 33). This curious sort of contrapposto gives a new interest to the outline of the figure and is then frequently used, especially in the thirties, in its purer form as here, or in any of the frequent variations so common in Cranach's works, occurring even in clothed figures, in essence as early as 1506 in the standard-bearer of the Catherine altarpiece in Dresden, and in a work like Samson and Delilah in Augsburg (Fig. 30), where, since the figures are not standing and the individual parts are not readily visible, there is the most impossibly involved jumble of forms making a tight and complicated group, and one in which the natural spatial relations are not at all clear.

31. So he uses the very transparent veil with which the seductive Venuses or nymphs often pose; in one quite serious representation, Hercules at the Crossroads, in the Böhler collection in Munich, which is fully discussed by Panofsky in *Herkules am Scheidewege* (1930), especially p. 100, note 2, the figure of Virtue is clothed only in such a veil.

The implications of this choice are carried further in a number of genre pictures representing lovers of unequal ages, a subject very popular in northern Europe during the early sixteenth century and which seems to go back to Leonardo da Vinci, although the "Hausbuchmeister" made two engravings of this theme probably in the period 1476-80. At any rate, the treatment given by Cranach is one of comic lubricity and avarice which must have been more pleasing to his Saxon masters than the sad melancholy with which Jacopo de' Barbari represents it in the painting in the Johnson collection in Philadelphia.

Such scenes of amorous betrayal, which were so popular in the period of transition from Gothic to Renaissance, find two more representations in Cranach's work, the Bocca della Verità in Nuremberg, which has been quite thoroughly investigated by Betty Kurth in *Des Zäuberers Virgils Ehebrecherfalle auf Werken der nordischen Renaissance*, in *Städels-Jahrbuch*, III-IV (1924), pp. 49 ff., and the unusual subject of Venus with Amor as Honey-Thief, which Cranach repeats frequently. This seems, despite a drawing of the same subject by Dürer in Vienna (L. 422), to have been suggested by one of his humanist friends at Wittenberg, for although drawn from the idyll "Κηροκλεπτης" of Theocritus, which is simply an opportunity for a conceit about the stinger stung, Cranach's paintings bear inscriptions in an admonishing and melancholy tone, undoubtedly a moral commentary made by one like Melanchthon.

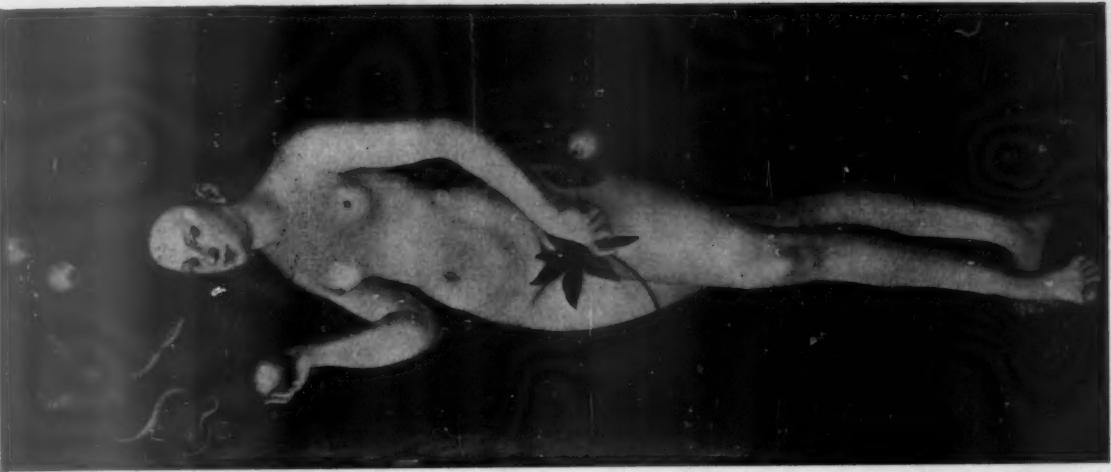


FIG. 33—Dresden, Picture Gallery:
Eve, by Lucas Cranach



FIG. 32—Munich, Pinakothek: *Adam and Eve*,
by Lucas Cranach

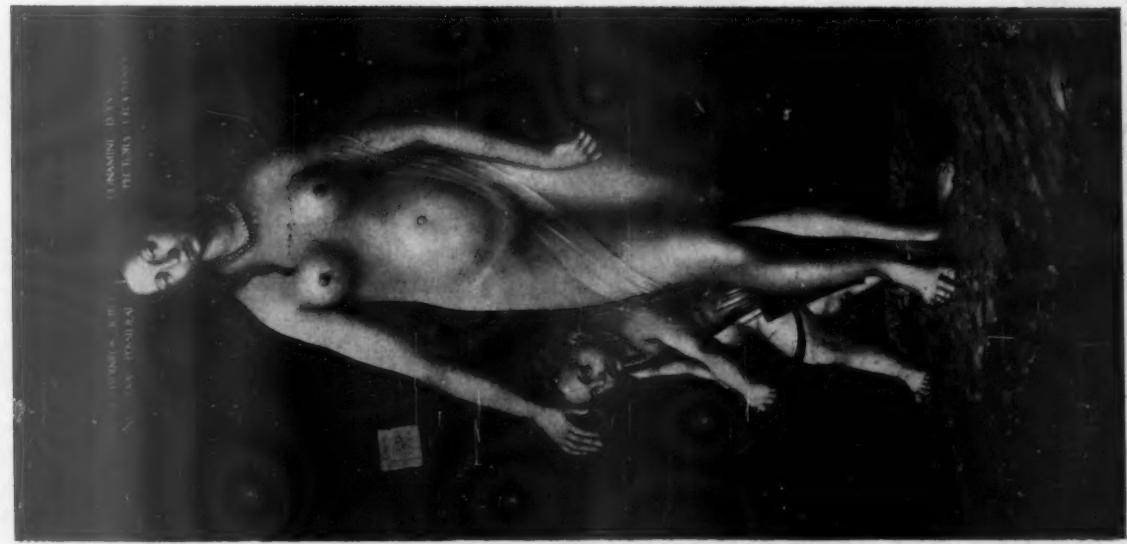


FIG. 31—Leningrad, Hermitage:
Venus and Amor, by Lucas Cranach



FIG. 34—*Woodcut of the Judgment of Paris, by Lucas Cranach*



FIG. 35—*Woodcut of Venus and Amor, by Lucas Cranach*



FIG. 36—*Oslo, National Gallery: The Golden Age, by Lucas Cranach*

Here, too, in the sleeves is seen a treatment of drapery recurrent in Cranach's works from about 1513, when it appears in small parts of the drapery of the Virgin in the Madonna and Child in the Ullmann collection in Frankfurt-am-Main.³² Of course, it occurs earlier as well, but only at about this time do the high lights become so bright and contrast so strongly with the shadows, making a very vivid angular pattern over the surface, analogous to frequent treatment in late fifteenth century drapery style throughout Germany.

The other drapery treatment which appears with like frequency is that already seen in Fig. 27, which consists of a series of vertical convex folds slowly flaring toward the ground. Despite the conical mass which results, the final effect is not of a solid bulk, but of a differently shaped flat area within whose boundaries a new type of pattern is arranged. This simple pattern is then often further enriched by being applied to brocaded drapery, so that a fine linear effect is created with constantly changing patterns from one edge to the other.

Cranach must have been very popular with his female clients, for he painted them in all their finery, no more criticizing the extraordinary assembly of rings, necklaces, lockets, pearl-sewn hair nets, slit and puffed sleeves than they did themselves (Fig. 24). Indeed, he must have had a passionate love of detail, which his dry linear technique presents so clearly, for he carries it over into his treatment of landscape, even as early as the Catherine altarpiece of 1506, where, in the wings (Figs. 17, 19), the delicate flowers and grasses in the foreground are silhouetted against whatever light areas approach the ground.

This has already been seen, too, in the much later representation of Samson and Delilah (Fig. 30), and reaches its acme in the scenes of stag hunting or the tapestry-like Golden Age in Oslo (Fig. 36), where the brightness and flatness of the figures is carried over to all the elements making up the landscape, and where the silhouetting of figures and plants against one another reaches its apogee. The final result, then, in combination with the high point of view, is strikingly similar to late Gothic works, specifically the engravings of the "Meister der Liebesgarten," although the linear rhythms are soft and fluent for the most part, and so differ from the more harsh and angular forms of the fifteenth century.

*
* *

The characteristics of Cranach's developed style already seen, emphasis on organization of the elements in flat planes, whose contours are of much greater importance than the form within these contours, and which are arranged in a calligraphic rhythm, and the distortion of the figures, both in details and in general proportions to obtain an affected and unnatural vision, all these are by no means unique with him. These qualities, in a more or less complete degree, are to be seen throughout most of European painting in the period after the first quarter of the century, and constitute the so-called Mannerist style, which has received so much attention during the past twenty years.³³

32. Friedländer and Rosenberg, *op. cit.* 41.

33. Some of the more important publications dealing with this style are: Weisbach, *Der Manieris-*

mus, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N. F., 30 (1919), pp. 161 ff.; Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz*, 1920; Friedländer, *Die*

Although the critics of Mannerism are undecided among themselves concerning the causes and first appearances of the style, they are quite unanimous not only as to its very definite existence, but also as to the dominant characteristics of the style, which consist primarily of those qualities of Cranach enumerated above, i. e. stressing of the normative, organizing, compositional qualities to the detriment of the natural, visual, imitative values, which in the High Renaissance, in Raphael and Leonardo, had been held in coherent balance. Consequently, there results a growth of interest in the decorative character of the component elements and their arrangement not in rational, coherent space, for the problem of three-dimensional space drops out, as it does in Pontormo's Certosa frescoes in Florence, and instead the increase in importance of the areas, conceived as more nearly flat planes, of which the picture is composed. In Florence and Rome, especially, the two centuries of consuming interest in the volume of figures is not wholly lost, of course, and in the works of Florentine Mannerists there is always retained a greater interest in the mass of the human body than in North Italy, where Parmeggianino exaggerates the delicacy of the figure, especially in female types, which are extremely slender and sinuous.

Much of the stimulus for the reaction against the High Renaissance balance undoubtedly is part of the mediaeval heritage, not purely that of Italy, for the part played by the North in specific instances is very clear, as the borrowing of motifs which are so suited to his style from Dürer by Pontormo and others, just as earlier Robetta had drawn upon Schongauer's engravings and the Master E. S. had influenced the school of the Pollaiuolo brothers. Consequently, the style appears more native in works of Germany and the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, for the High Renaissance was always for them a foreign style, part of which might be borrowed, but which could never be assimilated and re-created.

Indeed, it is very difficult to speak of Renaissance painting north of the Alps, the ideals of the Italian style being imperfectly understood even by Dürer, who seemed to think there was some sovereign rule to produce works of a classical style. And the chief contrast between Northern and Italian Mannerism seems to be in the arrangement of the component elements, Italy reacting against the Renaissance and seeking in its struggle support from the period preceding this, whereas the North brought in elements of the Renaissance, only to find the innate Gothicism too strong to enable a complete fusion; instead there is a very unstable balance, quite as unstable as many of the figures of Mabuse, Joos van Cleve, or Jan van Scorel in the Netherlands or of Cranach, Baldung, the late works of the Younger Jörg Breu or Hans Leu in the German region.

The Mannerists of the Netherlands accepted more Italian formulae than the Germans and for that reason the contrast between the component elements of the style of the middle half of the century is the more striking. South Germany was considerably "Romanist," as is obvious especially in architectural forms in the works of Burgkmair and the followers of Dürer, and the calmness of their figures

is perhaps one of the most noteworthy characteristics revealing the influence of Italy. However, many other figures, especially those of Hans Baldung, are nearly as linear and unbalanced as those of Cranach, yet there is a stronger classicism in the painter of the Upper Rhine in his attitude toward mythological subject matter, for he seems aware of the beauty of this lost world and is more robust in his sorrow at its loss, as also in his acceptance of the macabre Northern themes to which he repeatedly turns.

Cranach, then, fits into the general picture of his time; yet, except for a few ineffective uses of classical motifs, he represents in some respects the most distant point from the High Renaissance, the most complete continuation of the ideals of late Gothic. That he was able to assimilate his early style to the tighter, more rigid developed style is undoubtedly one of the principal reasons for his success in the "frontier" region of northeast Germany, where the more obvious manner based primarily on decoration, bright color, and facile technique would invariably be victor over any more cultivated, intellectual style which was founded on the ideals of the High Renaissance, even if the impossible could have happened and this style have been made at home in Germany.

THE FLORENTINE PROFILE PORTRAIT IN THE QUATTROCENTO

By JEAN LIPMAN

THE object of this study¹ is to consider the independent profile portrait as representative of Florentine taste in the second half of the fifteenth century. It is to this period and to Florence that its vogue was almost exclusively limited, so that a study of the group of approximately fifty extant examples and an analysis of the reasons underlying their appearance at this time and place ought to throw light on Florentine art in general.

Before discussing the portraits themselves we must examine the factors of place and period.

The scene was Florence, neatly fitted within the narrow limits of the plain of the Arno, the capital of Renaissance humanism, the home of Renaissance history and criticism, of statistical science, and of political theory.² The intellectual passion for abstract ideas, for the generalizing of fact, and the systematizing of knowledge, while characteristic of all of Italy as compared with the North, was most specifically Florentine. In Florence all life—agriculture, trade, government, art—was ordered and systematized. The construction of space and the structure of the human body were rigorously investigated, and these analyses were scientifically formulated within the laws of perspective and anatomy. Finally—and this is the significant fact—the Florentine artist was specifically interested in science. Instead of literally accepting appearances, he selected from appearance data sufficient to elucidate the natural laws which he had formulated, while the Flemish artist, depending on intuition rather than on science, saw order emerge incidentally from his whole painstaking reconstruction of nature.

The fifteenth century in Florence was a period teeming with cross currents of opposing artistic tendency. The first part of the century broke away from the primitive abstract tradition to develop the optical method which is best illustrated by the painting of Masaccio. This artist used light to illuminate as well as to construct form. The forms, no longer intellectually conceived, in the fourteenth century manner, as isolated plastic entities, were optically visualized as elements in an atmospheric space. Then, in the second half of the fifteenth century, this Masacciesque illusionism was opposed by an abstract tendency which might be interpreted as a return to tradition. Yet it was no retrogression. The fifteenth century abstractness was as different from the primitive abstractness as it was from the illusionism of Masaccio; and it necessarily opposed the confusions of the old method as well as of the new.

Examine in the Uffizi the fourteenth century profile portrait of Agnolo Gaddi

1. I am indebted to Dr. Richard Offner and Dr. Erwin Panofsky for many valuable suggestions.

2. Cf. J. Burckhard, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. Middlemore, New York, n. d.



FIG. 1—*Florence, Uffizi: Portrait of Agnolo Gaddi (Detail of Panel with three Portraits), by Shop of Agnolo Gaddi*



FIG. 2—*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Portrait of Jean le Bon, by an anonymous French Master*

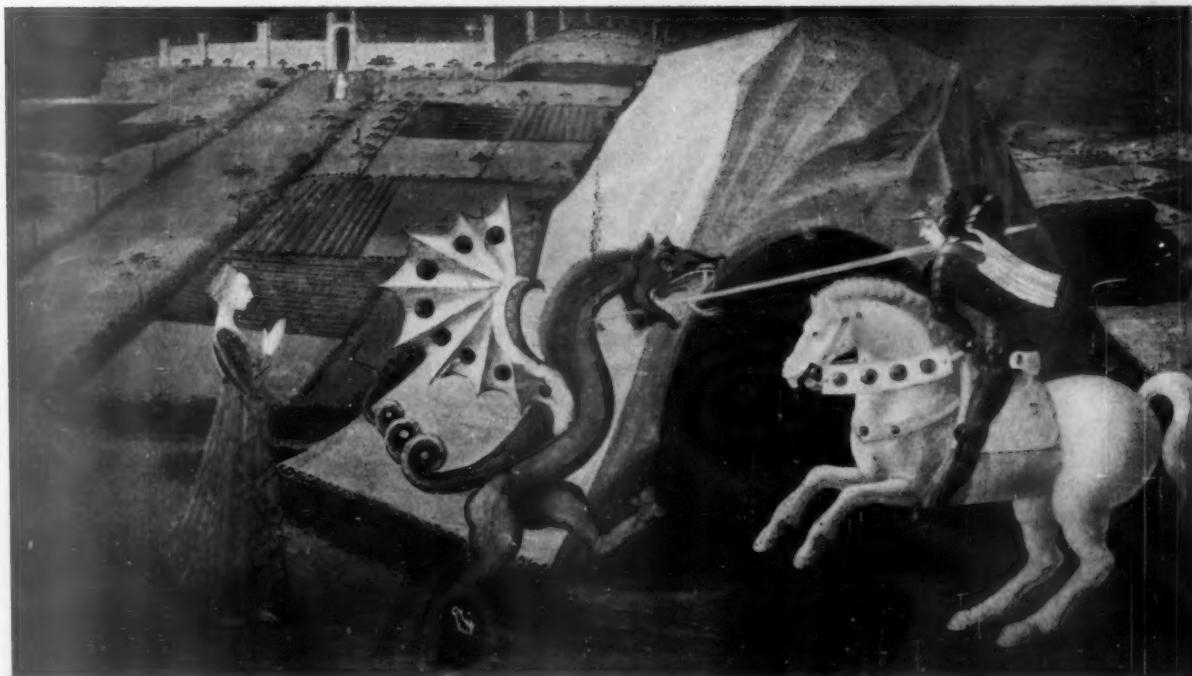


FIG. 3—*Paris, Musée André: St. George and the Dragon, by Paolo Uccello*



FIG. 4—Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: *A Hunt*, by Paolo Uccello. Detail



FIG. 5—Urbino, Palazzo Ducale: *Miracle of the Host*, by Paolo Uccello. Detail

(Fig. 1), painted about 1375, and then look at the fifteenth century profile portrait of Federigo da Montefeltro, painted a little less than a hundred years later (Fig. 30). The fifteenth century portrait shows advanced knowledge of form and structure, but the plasticity has been compressed into an effect of relief and the suggestion of movement has been transformed into a structural tension. The drawing, modeling, and lighting bear witness to an easy, masterful realization of the object which makes the fourteenth century head seem hesitating and experimental. Yet the fifteenth century portrait has been so rigidly posed, so decisively cast into a pattern, that the definitely primitive fourteenth century head appears at first glance to be the more modern of the two. The fifteenth century artist had deliberately renounced certain naturalistic possibilities, and he had visualized and adopted certain abstract effects. But he could not and did not wish to abandon all the new possibilities in order to assume a primitive manner. Thus, his work consisted of a reduction of the two preceding styles, rather than of a rejection of the one and a resumption of the other.

The basis of the old style was the generalized, intellectual vision of the primitive painter who reconstructed what existed in his mind rather than what passed before his eyes. Representation rested upon a composite image; it realized a typical rather than a specific object, and recorded itself by means of relatively abstract surfaces and lines. Richard Offner, in his *Italian Primitives at Yale University*, succinctly formulates the difference between the primitive abstract viewpoint and the modern optical vision. The early Italian artist, he explains, began by copying his master's drawings.

"He thus came to possess himself of a vocabulary of formal expression, instead of inanely repeating the shapes of nature. And as he advanced, he came really to be setting down memorized images, which, in the artistic process of creation, became gradually saturated with his own personality and stamped with his own vision.

"But the formal consciousness sees more dimly and generally than the physical eye. It simplifies and classifies its shapes in the course of assimilation. It seizes upon what it regards as their essentials and sheds or rejects everything else. It is thus that early Italian painting came to visualize a given object in terms of its generic boundaries, its determining planes and contours. And it is the mnemonic effort to hold the image that drew such a prominent outline round it. This explains why some Italian painting as late as the sixteenth century continues so essentially linear—even with so plastic an artist as Michelangelo. In the very highly intellectualized art of Florence the subtler medium of line at once defined the form and rendered its plastic substance. And the means used to externalize such form was a fine brush which built up the image stroke by stroke against a flat surface, leaving the figure sharply defined in plastic isolation, concentrated, and complete, in itself.

"With Leonardo da Vinci, however, the intellectual vision described above merges with optical vision. The individual form forfeits its isolation, and begins to be seen in its natural environment as an element in a world that flows before one's eyes, a world manifold, shifting, and varied like the restless ranging eye in which it is reflected.

"From a world that was essentially static we pass into one that is fluid and dynamic. The whole spectacle diffuses and deepens into space. From an absolute, formal world we are transferred into a world in which every object depends for its appearance on its position in the picture: if near it will be clear, and less distinct as it moves away from the eye behind multiplying layers of atmosphere. Its look is no longer wholly determined by the degree of intellectual force with which it was conceived, but by the light in which it is seen. Such a world, such a vision had to be met by the more fluid medium of oil, and by a large brush that could set down what the eye saw theoretically as quickly and as fluidly as it beheld."³

This optical vision, which in Leonardo's time revolutionized Florentine painting, was anticipated in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Florentine, as well as the Northern artist, began to record the ever-changing phenomena of physical

3. R. Offner, *Italian Primitives at Yale University*, New Haven, 1924, pp. 34-35.

reality which passed constantly before his eyes. He wished to seize in paint specific optical experiences as well as the typical moments which the memory formulates through its process of simplification.

During the fifteenth century the Florentine artist had become aware of the potentialities of illusionism. But in developing these possibilities he undoubtedly sensed the disruption of all the definiteness and clarity which he had been trained to believe essential, and so he must have felt more urgently than before the need for distinctness. And this may explain the tendency to over-definition and over-clarification so characteristic of the second part of the century, causing a brief climax of conscious clarity, just at the moment when this very clarity was about to be dimmed. It is significant that already in Alberti's treatises on painting one feels, together with the exploration of visual phenomena, the insistent stress on definition. Alberti thought largely in terms of "plane surfaces" and "defining limits," and these two phrases recur frequently.⁴ In the painting of the second half of the fifteenth century the "prominent outline"⁵ drawn round the object became more pronounced. Emphasized line, sharpened tonality, tightened mass, flattened composition, brightened color—all such means of clarification were stressed.⁶

The ultimate basis of the fifteenth century abstractness was a desire for clarification. In order to realize this object, form was abbreviated; so the full, tangible form was reduced to a skeleton, or even to an abstract idea. The new fifteenth century abstractness opposed both the plastic fullness and the optical illusionism of earlier fifteenth century art. Thus, two successive steps were taken: first the form was simply compressed and clarified, and then it was completely dematerialized and reduced to an abstract idea. And so within the second half of the fifteenth century there came an opposition, with rational, scientific clarification on one side, and high tension mysticism and emotionalism on the other.⁷

The most positive principle of fifteenth century style was clarification for expressive force. This principle led inevitably to a relatively archaic style; the self-consciousness of the clarification led to an element of deliberate archaism. Thus, a new style was developed, one comparable to modern primitivism.⁸ By this time sophistication had replaced innocent abstraction—primitiveness had become an "ism." Art, heretofore inevitably abstract, now became self-consciously abstract, selecting and coördinating diverse trends. This new phase, opposing the tangible, realistic style of the first half of the century, abstracted from and combined the antique, the mediaeval, and the modern; and thus one finds mediaevalism coinciding with classicism in the second half of the fifteenth century. This fusion of antithetic styles partially accounts for the tension so characteristic of the period.

The Italian Renaissance as a whole is generally considered a period of confident discovery and advance; it might also be seen as a great moment of conflict, of

4. Cf. L. B. Alberti, *De la statue et de la peinture*, trans. C. M. Popelin-Ducarre, Paris, 1868.

5. Offner, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

6. Friedrich Antal mentions as manifestations of the "Quattrocento Gothic" style the intensity of color and its unrealness, the flatness of the landscape, and the linearistic flatness of the forms. Cf. F. Antal,

Studien zur Gotik im Quattrocento in *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLVI (1925), pp. 3 ff.

7. Thus one finds at this time both a rational and an emotional enthusiasm for antiquity.

8. The modern taste of the Quattrocento may be partly attributed to this stylistic kinship.

reaction and resistance. The Italian artist, peculiarly intellectual, had founded his art upon the precepts of order and clarity; and when the rapid development of illusionistic realism threatened the very foundations of this art, there arose a tendency to a more abstract organization of form, which in turn acted as a check to the free development of illusionism. This tendency to arrest the course of evolution resulted in tensions which were peculiarly characteristic of the Italian Renaissance.⁹ These tensions found an outlet in the Baroque, a release which was not as separate a thing as most art historical criticism would lead one to suppose. It was merely the most decisive of a series of tension releases which existed during the Renaissance as well as at its end. The distinctive feature of the Renaissance was that the possibilities of release were constantly minimized and each climax of tension was largely diverted into a different ascent into another tension, while in the Baroque the release rather than the accumulation of tension was the chief fact.

The desire for fame that inspired the artists of the Italian Renaissance, the monumentalism and the classicism of their art, may be traced back to the same self-conscious and reactionary spirit which brought about the abstract style of the fifteenth century in Florence. The new conception of infinite space and boundless time, with the correlative realization of man's brief span of life and diminutive stature, endangered the individual's sense of his own size and security. The concept of fame implied an aggrandizement and an extension in time of man's existence and achievement; and the monumentality of Renaissance art was in essence a compensation for man's physical limitation and his transience. In this manner one might also explain the revival of the Classics; in a time of complication and change conservative Italy was turning to an age of simplicity, order, and tranquility.¹⁰

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Before beginning the analysis of the Florentine profile portrait it will be well to consider the aesthetic meaning of a profile. Consideration must also be given to the basic reason for its use, and its functions in fifteenth century Florentine painting, and to the genesis and history of the profile portrait in Italy.

A profile may be defined as the shape of an object viewed from the side. Resemblance, in a profile, lies in the shape itself, and the decorative value resides in the shape as pattern. The comparatively flat profile tends to be seen primarily as design, and so seems most easily and directly to relate to the flat surface of the panel. Because of the relative importance of the shape the profile is swiftly and distinctly visible as a whole, and the parts tend to subordinate themselves to this whole. The fact that a profiled object has been seen from the side implies first of all a separation between spectator and object; they do not face each other. Thus the profile is an essentially objective view. Because it divides the object exactly in half and portrays but one of these halves, the profile is a generalized view; two sides of a face, for

9. Cf. F. Saxl in *Repertorium für Kunsthistorie*, XLIII (1922), pp. 220 ff. Saxl here sums up Warburg's theory of the Renaissance tension as a reconciling of the contrasting realism and idealism.

10. Just so one finds a return to antiquity in almost every cultural crisis. E. g. In England in the eighteenth century a period of Classicism preceded the advent of Romanticism.

instance, are not exactly similar. Furthermore, the view from the side selects the most fundamental contours, and so the profile is the most typical shape. The side view presents the object in the most unforeshortened manner; thus the surface is most uniform, with the least amount of plastic projection, and the contour rather than the bulk of the mass is emphasized. The profile, more than any other view, reduces the object to a simplified form.

The profile had, of course, been employed in other periods of Florentine painting; but the significant fact remains that in the second half of the fifteenth century it became paramount. In seeking the most fundamental reason for this increased use of the profile one must again consider the abstract character of later fifteenth century painting. The Florentine artist had reverted to an abstract, intellectual type of art. The primitive Egyptian, Greek, and Florentine inevitably painted each thing in the way that his mind most distinctly visualized it; the fifteenth century Florentine deliberately recorded each object in its composite appearance; he painted a consciously memorized image of it.

The primitive memory image, as defined by Emanuel Löwy,¹¹ could not be other than clear, flat, and unchanging. The cumulative mental image lies entirely clear before the mind, and so coloring, lighting, and contour are sharply distinct, and contour is emphasized. Löwy sees linear contour as the peculiar creation of the mental image, and defines it as "that line of demarcation by which form is circumscribed and evoked from the void."¹²

The memory picture tends to be flat. As foreshortened surfaces partly escape apprehension, objects are ordinarily remembered in their least foreshortened aspects.

As momentary detail cannot be firmly fixed in the memory image, transitional factors such as expression and movement tend to be minimized.

It must now be clear that the profile is a typical memory image. The conceptual image approximates the appearance of an object in its most clearly remembered form, and objects such as human heads and limbs are apt to be most easily remembered in a profile view. The artist basing his representation upon a conceptual image, like the artist representing an object in profile, tends to reveal the object in its most typical shape, to flatten and to stabilize it. The profile view closely approximates the typical primitive memory picture; and thus the profile became prominent during the abstract phase of fifteenth century Florentine painting.

The profile most perfectly embodied the many aspects of fifteenth century primitivism. It was well adapted to a simplified composition, a reduced plasticity, a decorative, linear design, and a clearly articulated scheme of coloring and lighting. Being a typical view, it was eternal. This points to a connection with the Renaissance concept of fame. The profile, finally, was both mediaeval and antique, and so could doubly oppose the realistic style of the early fifteenth century.

The form and function of the fifteenth century Florentine profile varied according to its use. It was employed in figure compositions, in full-length portraits, and in bust portraits.

11. E. Löwy, *The Rendering of Nature in Early Greek Art*, trans. J. Fothergill, London, 1887.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 24.



FIG. 7—*Florence, Duomo: Equestrian
Portrait of Sir John Hawkwood,
by Paolo Uccello*



FIG. 6—*Chantilly, Musée Condé: Month of April,
in Les très riches heures de Jean de France duc
du Berry, by one of the Limbourg Brothers*



FIG. 8—*Bergamo, Accademia Carrara:*
Portrait of Leonello d'Este, by Pisanello



FIG. 9—*Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum:*
Portrait of a Lady, by Fra Filippo Lippi

In figure compositions the profile achieved its effect as a decorative motive, as a means of organizing the composition, of articulating the narrative, and of suggesting movement.

Profiling was much used by the artists allied to the decorative rather than to the monumental tendency in painting. The profile pose displayed the figure in its most interesting shape, and tended to flatten that shape in a manner suiting it most perfectly for abstract decoration. The decoration of a surface with profiles was superbly worked out in Uccello's St. George and the Dragon in the Musée André (Fig. 3), as was the tonal orchestration of profiled silhouettes in the Ashmolean Hunt (Fig. 4) and in the Urbino Miracle of the Host (Fig. 5). In these pictures one finds that the profile is most sensitively attuned to the ornamental values of the graceful and the slender, as in the edging of a princess' gown or in the coil of a dragon's tail, in the delicate tapering of a train or in the gracile silhouette of running hounds. Uccello's use of the silhouette reminds one of Pisanello, or of the Limbourg brother who illustrated the month of April in *Les très riches heures de Jean de France duc de Berry* (see Fig. 6). These representatives of a courtly miniature style seem to have had a predilection for the profiled rendering because, least bulkily plastic, it best lent itself to sophisticated and highly refined decoration.

As a structural member of the total composition the profiled figure is most often seen as a terminal, closing the composition at one or both sides. The profile played a major part in the articulation of the narrative. The profiling of the figures allowed the action to evolve in a neat silhouetted procession across the painted surface. Important personages were often distinguished by the profile pose, and in compositions where donors were represented they were profiled in order to separate them from the scene in which they did not actually participate.

The use of the profiled figure in a composition tends to endow the scene with movement at the same time that it suggests direction. In scenes such as Uccello's Hunt (Fig. 4) it is apparent that the profiling of the limbs displays their movement. The silhouetting in this panel also favors an abstract movement of pattern across the surface; the profile cuts the atmosphere most easily, and the eye, drawn by relationships of tone and pattern, moves briskly from one to another of the figures.

The choice of the profile pose for the single full-length portrait, as seen exclusively in painted equestrian monuments (see Fig. 7), may be explained by the ability of the profile to stabilize and to dignify the pose and the action. A profiled equestrian portrait is a typical view of a figure in a characteristic action.

The bust-length profile portrait¹³ is a typical view of a figure completely at rest. It does not suggest movement as does the profile within a figure composition; it does not typify an action as does the profiled equestrian figure. The Florentine bust profile portrait is the most stable and static of all portrait forms. The lower limbs, most suggestive of bodily movement, are omitted. In the exact profile view there is no suggestion of a change of bodily position, and so the pose is fixed. Because the profile is a typical view it does not suggest a momentary action. Time seems

13. Cf. R. Longhi, *Piero della Francesca*, trans. J. Chuzeville, Paris, 1927, pp. 94 ff., for a discussion

of the profile portrait in Italy in the fifteenth century.

stopped; all possibility of change is denied. In the bust portrait, finally, the profiling tends to immobilize the composition, for the approximation of the profiled shape to the shape of the frame places emphasis upon the geometry of the design.

The decorative relationship between the contour of the profile and the shape of the panel tends to make the design self-contained. In the Florentine profile portrait there is a classic unity of design which is furthered by a psychological "inner unity."¹⁴ While the three-quarter view necessarily suggests a tension between the pictured personage and the spectator, the profile view minimizes this relationship. By his choice of the profile view the Florentine artist solved the problem of keeping the portrait compositionally and psychologically self-contained.

The use of the profile view for portraiture tended to place emphasis upon design as well as upon personality. Thus, the profile portrait held in perfect balance abstract design and the realism inherent in portraiture. The peculiar quality of fifteenth century abstractness was largely due to a constant compromise between realism and abstraction, and these two possibilities were simultaneously realized in the profile portrait.

The genesis and early history of the Italian profile portrait after the early mediaeval period, may be studied in the donor portraits. The thirteenth century donors are portraits iconographically speaking only. Nor are the fourteenth century donors portraits in the modern sense of the word. But one sees a step in the advance of portraiture in an early fourteenth century fresco by Pietro Lorenzetti—the Madonna and Child with St. Francis and St. John in the lower church of S. Francesco at Assisi. In this painting the donor is detached from the object of his adoration and is represented bust length within a frame of his own.¹⁵ At approximately this time Simone Martini painted in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena the profiled equestrian portrait of Guidoriccio da Fogliano (dated 1328). In the third quarter of the fourteenth century in Florence one finds the profile portrait as a bust-length composition, though not yet as an independent portrait—note the rectangular panel in the Uffizi on which is painted, together with the portraits of Taddeo and Zanobio Gaddi, a portrait in full profile of Agnolo Gaddi (only one-third of the panel is reproduced in Fig. 1).

The Florentine portrait began its evolution as an independent form of representation during the first half of the fifteenth century. The earliest known examples, the male portraits in Boston (Fig. 31) and in Chambéry¹⁶ (c. 1430-35), are in profile. These two portraits, deriving from the Masaccioesque tradition, display the bulk and weight that all the later profile portraits avoided in order to develop a decorative abstraction of the silhouette. Shortly after the middle of the century the three-quarter as well as the profile pose was used for the panel portrait; and the profile portrait began to evolve into a highly specialized form, adapting itself in every way to the abstract as against the realistic possibilities of portraiture. About 1460-75, when the abstract tendency in Florentine painting was strongly dominant, the profile portrait reached its highest level of achievement (see the portraits by Fra Filippo Lippi, Baldovinetti,

14. Cf. A. Riegl, *Das holländische Gruppenporträt*, Vienna, 1931, for a study of the "outer unity" of Northern portraiture as opposed to the "inner unity" of the Italian.

15. Cf. R. Van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane*, Hague, 1931, I, p. 9.

16. Cf. appendix.



FIG. 11—Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: *Portrait of a Lady*, by Antonio Pollainolo



FIG. 10—New York, Metropolitan Museum: *Portrait of a Lady and a Man*, by the Shop of Fra Filippo Lippi



FIG. 12—Milan, Poldi-Pezzoli Museum:
Portrait of a Lady, by Antonio Pollaiuolo



FIG. 13—Philadelphia, Johnson Collection: *Portrait of a Lady*, by a Follower of Piero della Francesca

Antonio Pollaiuolo, and Piero della Francesca, Figs. 9, 11, 12, 19, 20). After the third quarter of the century the abstract tendency began to weaken; and it is significant that while in the third quarter there were about twice as many portraits in profile as in three-quarter view, in the following quarter this proportion was reversed. During the last part of the century the classically abstract style of the profile portrait tended, on one hand, to become exaggerated into a sort of Mannerism (see the portraits by the school of Sandro Botticelli, Figs. 23, 24, 25, 26), while, on the other hand, it merged with the realistic type of representation which had previously been found only in the portraits painted in three-quarter view (see the profile portraits by Piero Pollaiuolo, Mainardi, and the shop of Domenico Ghirlandaio, Figs. 18, 39, 42). By the end of the century the profile portrait, as seen in Piero di Cosimo's "Bella Simonetta" (Fig. 37) and in the drawn portraits of Leonardo da Vinci,¹⁷ had lost its special character as a Quattrocento form.

Besides the panel portraits there were in Florence, in the second half of the Quattrocento, numbers of donor portraits (similar to Fig. 16) and other profile portraits in panel and fresco representations.¹⁸ There were equestrian portraits painted in profile (see Fig. 7). There were even profile portraits in the painted decorations of walls and ceilings and of illuminated manuscripts.¹⁹ There were sculptured profile portraits,²⁰ and countless profile portraits on medals.²¹ In Italy—in Florence, Ferrara, and Verona especially—the profile portrait was popular throughout the fifteenth century. In the North the independent portrait began in full profile—see the portrait of Jean le Bon in the Bibliothèque Nationale, datable as c. 1360 (Fig. 2)—and then this mode was virtually abolished for more than a hundred years, to be resumed in the sixteenth century by Matsys and Dürer as a phenomenon of the High Renaissance.²² The Northern portraitists of the fifteenth century, unlike their Italian contemporaries, were not willing to sacrifice the whole richness of individual life to the sharp marking out of features or to the decorative patterning of a painted surface.

In fifteenth century Italy the opportunities for clarified form and abstract decoration were realized in the profile portrait; in the sixteenth century it was rather the monumentalizing possibilities which were developed. But the profile lessened in popularity as the Renaissance desire for richness and rounded fullness evolved. It is natural, therefore, that there should have been a temporary revival of profile portraiture during the Manneristic reaction from the High Renaissance, and that in Baroque portraiture the potentialities of the profile should have been completely overlooked.

17. *Ibid.*

18. E. g. Botticelli's *Adoration of the Magi* in the Uffizi and Ghirlandaio's frescoes in S. Maria Novella.

19. E. g. Saluzzo, Cavazzo Palace (Van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane*, I, fig. 12) and page from a codex of Plutarch, Florence, Laurentian Library (Van Marle, *Italian Schools*, XI, fig. 299).

20. E. g. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, low-relief profile bust of a girl by Desiderio da Settignano,

21. The medal was a form of portraiture closely akin to that of the profiled panel portrait. The vogue of the medal, beginning c. 1425, preceded that of the painted profile portrait, and without doubt exerted a tremendous influence upon the latter.

22. Cf. G. Ring, *Beiträge zur Geschichte niederländische Bildnismalerei im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1913.

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It is desirable to begin the analysis of the profile portrait with a consideration of design. The inevitable result of a conscious ordering of visual appearance was an abstract organization of form; thus design became the great achievement of the second half of the fifteenth century in Florence.

In the first half of the century Masaccio developed a type of composition in which plasticity appears to be built up with cumulative intensity. This sort of arrangement implies an ultimate compositional center, a crescendo and climax; and in the earliest profile portraits one is aware of a forward-loomng structure emerging from the flat panel surface (see Figs. 28, 30, 31).

In the second half of the century the design tended to assimilate itself to the shape and surface of the panel. In the typical profile portrait there is a perfect accord between the shape of the figure and of its frame, which is sometimes reënforced by a painted inner frame (see Fig. 42). The design is absolutely complete in itself. The space composition, the technique, and the figure style, as well as the design, tend to limit suggestion to the panel surface. All idea of extension—beyond the outer bounds of the panel, behind or before it—is checked. Because of the flat patterning of the profile one remains conscious of the painted surface as such; one sees the painting as a decorative picture before visualizing it as a representation. It is amazing how much of the value of one of the profile portraits is retained when one views it upside down, thus seeing it purely as design.

A study of the profiled figures discloses that only a small number are more than bust length.²³ In these few, the arms have been held close to the body so as to be included within a compact silhouette. While in the bust-length composition the torso itself acts as a limiting socle, in the longer figure the arms have been arranged so as to perform this function (see Fig. 42). As the head provides the central interest, the body, when unforeshortened, tends to become assimilated to the profiled head and to be seen with it as a flatly silhouetted shape (see Fig. 17). When the body is foreshortened, on the other hand, it becomes a base and an anchor for the whole. The foreshortened body also tends to establish a sense of movement into the picture, and so sets off the profiled head by reason of the opposed movement of the two masses: one into space, the other along the surface (see Fig. 11). With few exceptions²⁴ the Florentine profiles are spaced within the panel so that the frame cuts the figure only at the base. This arrangement frees the silhouette, allows it full play, and directs attention to the relationship between the profiled form and the surface of the panel.

The Florentine profile portrait is important primarily as a decorated panel rather than as a plastic and psychological representation. Within the second half of the fifteenth century the Flemish portrait, with a rounded individualization as the primary

23. Represented half length: Fra Filippo Lippi, Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Fig. 9); Shop of Fra Filippo Lippi, Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 10); Antonio Pollaiuolo, Kaiser Friedrich museum (Fig. 11); Master of the Castello Nativity, Lehman collection (Fig. 17); Botticelli School, Lindenau Museum (Fig. 26); Bal-

dovinetti, National Gallery (Fig. 36); Domenico Ghirlandaio, formerly Morgan collection (Fig. 42).

24. Shop of Fra Filippo Lippi, Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 10); Botticelli School, Giuliano de' Medici, Accademia Carrara, Lazzaroni collection, formerly Kahn collection (cf. appendix); Follower of Masaccio, Gardner Museum (Fig. 31).



FIG. 14—Rome, Palazzo Corsini:
Portrait of a Youth, by
Antonio Pollaiuolo



FIG. 15—Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett:
Portrait of a Lady, by a Follower
of Antonio Pollaiuolo

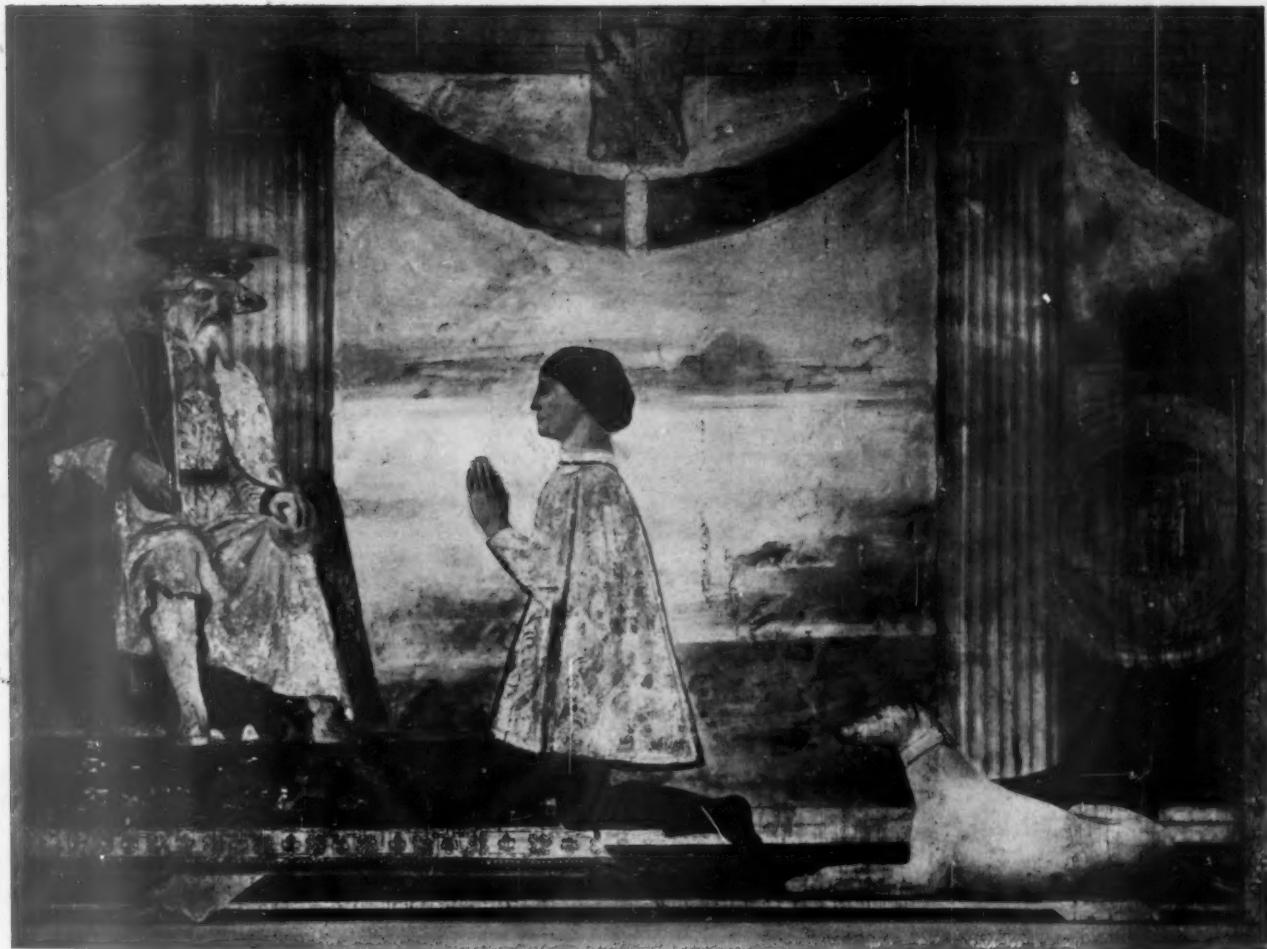


FIG. 16—Rimini, S. Francesco: Sigismondo Malatesta and his Patron Saint,
by Piero della Francesca

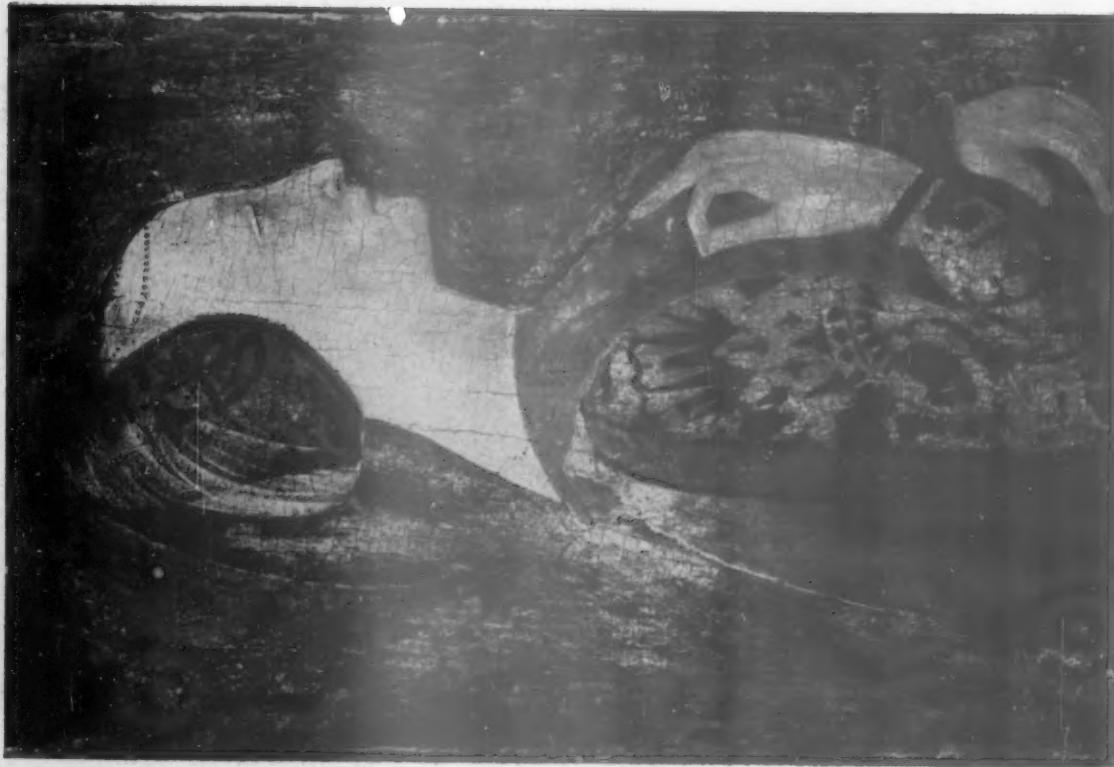


FIG. 17—New York, Philip Lehman Collection: *Portrait of a Lady*, by the Master of the Castello Nativity



FIG. 18—Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum: *Portrait of a Lady*, by Piero Pollaiuolo

aim and subject matter of its portraiture,²⁵ provides significant contrast. The Fleming seems to have desired the fullness more than the clarification of life,²⁶ and in the Flemish portrait one finds less selectiveness and less interest in design. The Florentine profile in contrast with the Flemish three-quarter pose is but one aspect of a fundamental stylistic divergence.

Fifteenth century Flemish portraiture varies radically from the Florentine; but even within Italy important differences are distinguishable. Portraits by a master such as Antonello da Messina offer obvious contrast with Florentine profile portraits. However, the essential characteristics of Florentine design may be seen more clearly in comparison with North Italian portraits by Cossa, Tura, or Pisanello, artists whose profile portraits are akin—at least by comparison with Antonello's—to the Florentine.

In comparing the design of one of Pisanello's medals with one of Niccolò Fiorentino's,²⁷ one notices that in the Florentine medal the portrait head is more sharply profiled and more bi-dimensional. The entire construction of the medal appears less spatial. There seems to be a reciprocal relationship between the head and the background surface; one does not feel that the head is set within a background space. In seeking the bases for these impressions one finds that in the Florentine medal the relief is more uniform at the edges, giving the contour a containing and a defining rather than a modeling function, minimizing the possibility of the contour being broken into by the play of light, and causing the head to be sharply detached from its ground. The whole effect is less pictorial (*malerisch*), both the head and its ground remaining firm, tense surfaces instead of tending to melt together. Moreover, in the Florentine medal the background space is smaller and the vertical axis is emphasized, making the pose seem very firm. Just as the profiled head was not allowed to sink back into space, so it cannot move or revolve within it.²⁸

Similar differences are discernible in comparing one of Pisanello's profile portraits (Fig. 8) with a Florentine one. Within the decorative silhouette of the Pisanello profile one sees that the edges are more suggestive of a revolution of surface, that the substance is more pulpy, and that the whole is more spatial and more pictorial than is the case with the Florentine profile.

In the design of the early sixteenth century portrait in Florence one sees similarities with the Flemish and the North Italian portrait of the fifteenth century. The sixteenth century profile portrait (see Fig. 34) is no exception. The profiled figure, at ease within its space, has expanded at the expense of the ground and of the frame, while a plastic and chiaroscuro treatment has taken precedence over the decorative flattening of the shape. Even the Manneristic profile portrait (see Fig. 35), more sharply and flatly silhouetted than in the earlier sixteenth century and so drawing towards fifteenth century manner, necessarily develops early sixteenth century possibilities.

25. Ring, *loc. cit.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. Cf. G. F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, London, 1930, pls. 3-11 (Pisanello), pls. 149-150 (Niccolò Fiorentino).

28. It is interesting, too, to compare one of Niccolò Fiorentino's medals with a Roman coin. The Florentine head is in lower and flatter relief, and so

is more evenly detached from the surface. The whole is clearly visible in one glance, almost as one plane juxtaposed against the background plane, and the surfaces are so simplified as to be read in large clarified terms. The whole composition seems geometrical in comparison with that of a Greek or a Roman coin.

It represents in the final analysis a reduction of sixteenth century achievement rather than a return to fifteenth century style.²⁹

Before examining the plasticity of the profile portraits one should comment upon a significant phenomenon, namely, the opposition to plastic fullness in the second half of the fifteenth century. In the first part of the century there was a close relationship between painting and statuary, and one finds that artists such as Masaccio and Castagno and Uccello painted figures with the solidity and density of sculpture in the round. But in the second half of the century, together with a more decided taste for sculpture in low relief, there is evident a specific connection between painting and low relief;³⁰ and, even more drastic, a tendency not only to flatten but actually to dematerialize form.

The fifteenth century taste for low relief, as opposed to sculpture in high relief or in the round, implied the wish to compress plasticity, to flatten planes, to emphasize these planes and their contours, and to strengthen the contrast between the silhouette and the neutral background. Through sculpture in low relief the artist could best realize his desire for plastic limitation and clarification. It is perhaps for these reasons that painting sought inspiration from relief in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. And the artist painting a profile—seeking abstractly to harden and to flatten the mass, to strengthen the contour, and to sharpen the silhouette—must have felt the congeniality of sculpture in low relief.

In the profile portraits mass was typically represented in a manner suggestive of low relief, and even the represented textures tended towards the even hardness of fine-grained stone. In the Berlin portrait by Fra Filippo Lippi (Fig. 9) and in the Metropolitan portrait attributed to the shop of Fra Filippo Lippi (Fig. 10), the flatness and firmness of the low relief enhance the silhouetting; there can be little of that surface-breaking jut or loom which is caused by the foreshortening of the mass. Antonio Pollaiuolo's Berlin profile (Fig. 11) was executed in a manner specifically relatable to low relief. Piero della Francesca's profiles (Figs. 19 and 20)³¹ seem of a hard and strong substance; the powerful plastic possibilities have been compressed into a low relief which offers definite resistance to the imagined touch, and upon which light impinges as upon sculpture. In the profile attributed to a follower of Piero della Francesca (Fig. 13) and in the three profiles by the Master of the Castello Nativity (Figs. 17, 21, 22) substance is like a porcelain mask, hard and brittle, with an enamel veneer of make-up. Plasticity has been reduced to a thin layer lower and more uniform than ordinary low relief, as if the surface of the relief had been planed off parallel with the background.³² Rather than expressing mass quantitatively at every point, it has been generalized in the interest of design.

The flattening of the mass is an early aspect of the abstract abbreviation of

29. For this interpretation of Mannerism cf. E. Panofsky in *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, Leipzig, Berlin, 1924, p. 41, and in *Belvedere*, II (1927), pp. 47-50.

30. For a discussion of the fifteenth century relationship between painting and sculpture cf. W. Pinder in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XXXII (1921), pp. 129-133.

31. Piero della Francesca, like Domenico Veneziano, was not Florentine by birth.

32. Observe a similar treatment of the mass in the profiled bust of a lady in the National Museum in Florence, attributed to Mino da Fiesole (D. Angeli, *Mino da Fiesole*, Florence, 1905, p. 68).



FIG. 20—*Florence, Uffizi: Portrait of Federigo da Montefeltro, by Piero della Francesca*



FIG. 19—*Florence, Uffizi: Portrait of Battista Sforza, by Piero della Francesca*



FIG. 22—Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum: *Portrait of a Lady*, by the Master of the Castello Nativity



FIG. 21—New York, Bache Collection: *Portrait of a Lady*, by the Master of the Castello Nativity

form in the second half of the Quattrocento; its actual dematerialization comes later. In the profile portraits attributed to the school of Sandro Botticelli,³³ and especially in the Milan portrait (Fig. 24), this phenomenon is unmistakable.

While abstract movement was inclined to increase in the second half of the fifteenth century in Florence, organic movement, like plasticity, tended to be reduced. The rendering of bodily structure suggested the kinetic possibilities of the figure but, in the interest of design, actual movement was rarely displayed. Domenico Veneziano, the great master of structural line in the fifteenth century, already displayed tension in repose rather than movement. Even Antonio Pollaiuolo, so preoccupied with organic movement, painted movement within a limited area rather than locomotion (see Fig. 27).

The earliest profile portraits, dating from before the middle of the century, already display the organic structure and vitality of the body rather than its movement. In the Rockefeller profile (Fig. 30), for example, one is aware of the bone and muscle, and of the current of energy that makes possible the buoyant upthrust of the body and the thrust of the chin. In the later profiles the pose is more rigid, the drawing less functional. The head is represented as at the beginning or at the end, rather than at the center, of movement; and the contour line creates a pattern even while it clings to living flesh and bone (see Fig. 11).

After the mid-century, line grew to so great an importance that when one considers Quattrocento style one thinks simultaneously of linealism. Line was used as a means of suggesting emotion and of developing rhythm, and also as a means of articulation, of modeling, and of definition.

In such drawings as Botticelli's *Dante* illustrations and Pollaiuolo's sketch of Hercules and the Hydra in the British Museum one sees the finest possibilities of the fifteenth century emotionalized line.³⁴ The line communicates to the spectator a sense of the artist's temperament; it is charged with nervous energy and is vibrant with movement. This is the "Quattrocento Gothic" line; it may be examined in the Botticelli school portrait in Frankfurt (Fig. 23) and in the profile portrait tentatively attributed to Filippino Lippi.³⁵

The group of profile portraits by Fra Filippo Lippi, Antonio Pollaiuolo, and the school of Botticelli are outstanding examples of the "rhythmical-decorative" tendency of line. In these portraits the line has been isolated from its mass to form a continuous linear arabesque; the edge of the mass is felt as a separate rhythmic entity rather than as a means for describing the turn of the plane.

It has been seen that in the profile portraits the contour line carries structural meaning. This line articulates the parts of the body, delineates the structure of bone and muscle, and suggests a storage of energy in preparation for movement.

Even in the fifteenth century group of profiles there are several portraits which illustrate the modeling function of line. The drawn head by Domenico Ghirlandaio

33. Cf. appendix.

34. Cf. also S. Colvin, *A Florentine Picture-Chronicle*, London, 1898. For a discussion of the increase of linear emotionalism towards the mid-century at the expense of the spatial and plastic style cf. Antal, *loc.*

cit. Cf. Saxl, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-272, for a summary of Warburg's analysis of the Quattrocento manner of emotionalizing antique models.

35. Cf. appendix.

in the British Museum³⁶ is composed only of the essential lines needed for building up a physical reality, and these lines are seen as foreshortened planes.

The abstract defining line was in the second half of the fifteenth century the unifying element that light was later to become. This line was intended primarily to reinforce the contour of the form, to define shape rather than to suggest plastic substance. In a drawn profile in the Uffizi (Fig. 29) a combined use of modeling and of defining line may be observed, and the two types of line compared. The modeling line suggests plastic roundness, for it approximates the shadow which is created by the turn of the plane; the defining line emphasizes shape by arbitrarily surrounding the form. The defining line, sharper and more uniformly thin than the modeling line, may be well observed in the profile possibly by Fra Diamante in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 32), where the shapes of the head, eye, eyebrow, ear, and headdress have been isolated and stressed by a sharp dividing contour. In the group of portraits by the Castello Master (Figs. 17, 21, 22) the clarified pattern of the whole creates precise, form-defining line at the edges. In the Piero della Francesca profiles (Figs. 19 and 20) the plastic definition seems sharpened and clinched by the contouring outline, which surrounds, defines, and fixes the mass. The form is plastic, but it is the isolation of the thin, uniform, non-plastic outline which determines its special quality. It is as if the texture of the mass assimilated itself to the character of the line: finely precise, taut, hard, stable to the last degree. Actually this line is abstract, as the compressed low relief is abstract; together they result in a precision and a firmness of plastic rendering which is unique.

Leonardo da Vinci's drawn profiles³⁷ where line is not a fixative or even a line as such, provide significant contrast. The contour line is traced several times, producing a pictorial vibration over the surface. This sfumato line marks a momentary impression of an ever-changing edge, of a receding plane; and it melts by minute transitions both into the flesh of the face and into the space outside.

The coloring of the profile portraits indicates that color was employed not so much to build up the plastic form as to elucidate and to adorn the design.

The light, flat colors used for the typical profile portrait accord perfectly with the flat profile shape. The whole silhouette is clearly set out against the color of the ground, while within the profile the divisions of hair, head, corsage, and sleeves are well-defined areas of color. The Berlin Pollaiuolo profile (Fig. 11) provides a fine example of this use of color to clarify design.

Suggestions of plastic and spatial depth are minimized by the variety and brilliance of the colors, by their flatness, and by their stability. The light, brilliant tints of Fra Filippo's Berlin portrait (Fig. 9) are typical for the profiles, as are the vermillion, ultramarine, crimson, and gold of the Gardner portrait by the Castello Master (Fig. 22). The colors used in the profile portraits tend to the inorganic; they seem flat, hard, cool, mineral-like; and they command attention for their intrinsic beauty rather than for their approximation to physical appearance.

Light was occasionally used in the Florentine profile portrait in the fifteenth century to suggest the existence of form in space, but it was the tonal reinforcement for the pattern which was most essential.

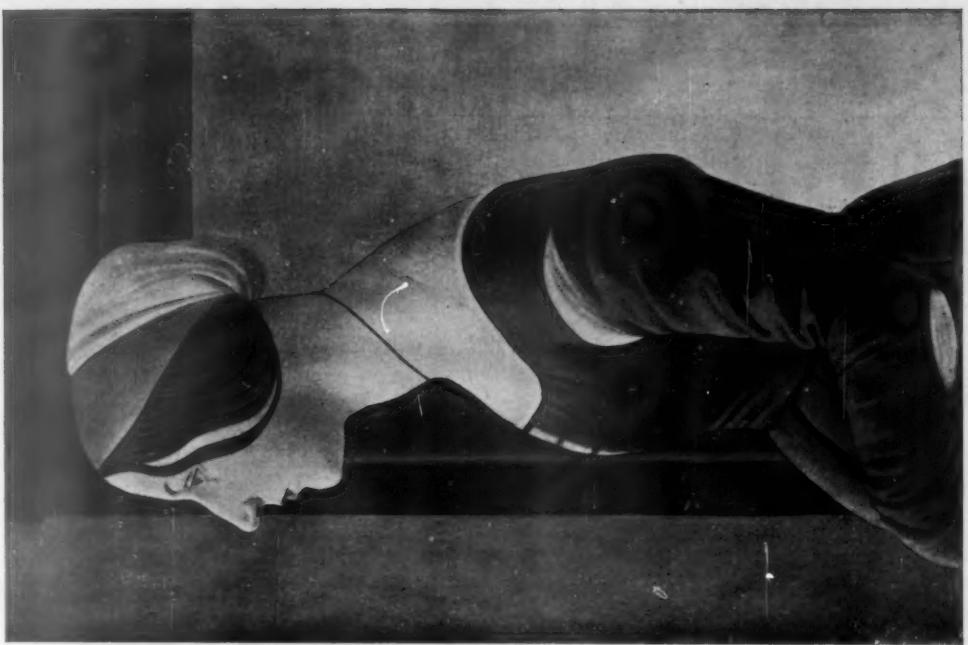


FIG. 25—*Florence, Pitti: Portrait of a Lady, by the School of Sandro Botticelli*



FIG. 24—*Milan, Palazzo Trivulzio: Portrait of a Lady, by the School of Sandro Botticelli*



FIG. 23—*Frankfurt a. M., Städel Institut: Portrait of a Lady, by the School of Sandro Botticelli*

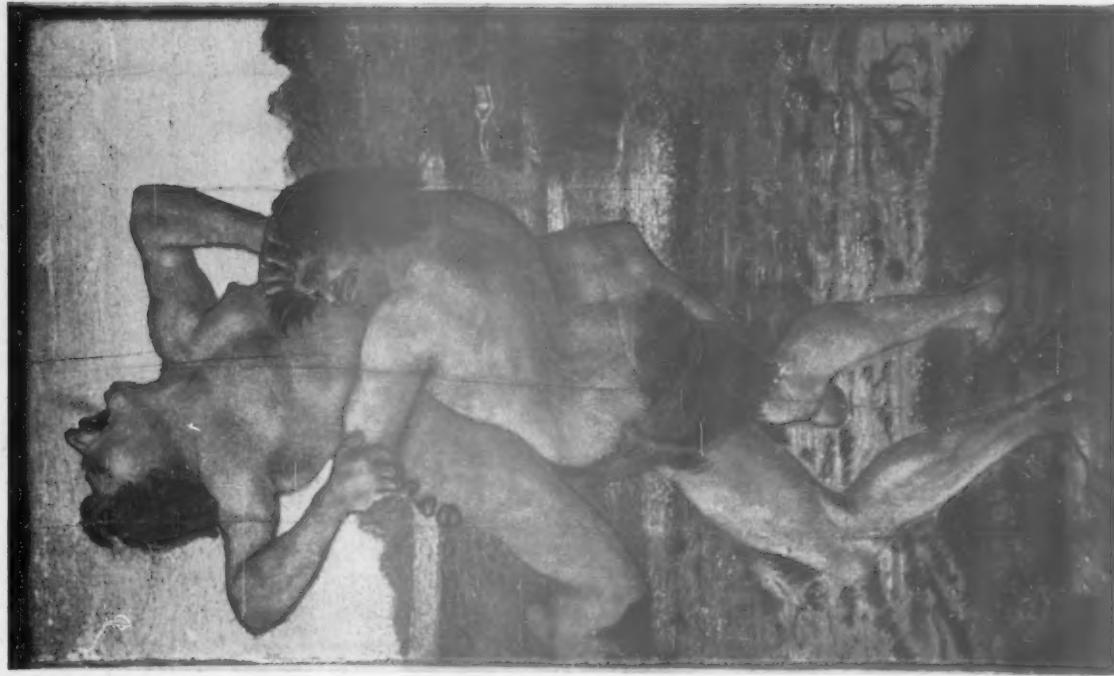


FIG. 27—*Florence, Uffizi: Hercules and Antaeus, by Antonio Pollaiuolo*



FIG. 26—*Altenburg, Lindenau Museum: Portrait of a Lady, by the School of Sandro Botticelli*

Light cast on a figure carries spatial implications by suggesting a source of light and an environment for the figure. The use of light to suggest the existence of mass in a light-filled space is best seen in the profiles by Uccello and his followers (see Figs. 28 and 30), where light builds up the form and is then thrown over it as illumination. This sort of plastic intensification by the use of light is of the Masacciesque tradition and is exceptional among the profile portraits. As a whole, the light used in the Florentine profile portraits of the Quattrocento served to separate the figure from, rather than to coördinate it with, its space. The opposite was the case in fifteenth century Flemish and in sixteenth century Florentine portraits.

In a Van Eyck portrait (see Fig. 33) the side of the face turned away from the spectator is lighted, implying the emergence of light from a luminous background, and in this way creating a spatial environment for the figure.³⁸ In later fifteenth century Flemish portraiture (see Fig. 40) the figure continued to be realistically painted with reference to the lighted atmosphere which surrounded it.

In the Florentine portrait of the High Renaissance (see Fig. 34) light was handled so as to suggest the plastic existence of the figure in space. Not even the profile portrait was allowed to approximate a single flat plane parallel to the background. The full face was presupposed, and one looked at this fully lighted face in profile; while in the fifteenth century the profile was the total existence. Even when the light was represented as coming from a side, as in the Metropolitan Lippesque portrait (Fig. 10), the whole surface of the face was illuminated as if by a flat light thrown from the front. The Manneristic portrait (see Fig. 35), while hardening and sharpening the light and the mass, used the sixteenth century type of lighting; so that the profile, though flatter than in the earlier sixteenth century, still suggested the full face.

The primary concern of Florentine lighting in the profile portraits was to create a line-enclosed tonal silhouette. In the group of profiles by a follower of Piero della Francesca and by the Castello Master (Figs. 13, 17, 21, 22) the strong, steady light brightly relieves the silhouette from its flat unlighted ground, making the figure seem relatively abstract and the ground totally so. It is interesting to note, in this connection, the universal Gothicizing tendency of the second half of the fifteenth century,³⁹ and specifically the Castello Master's taste for archaically abstract compositions⁴⁰ and tooled gold grounds.⁴¹ In Antonio Pollaiuolo's Berlin portrait (Fig. 11) one sees again a sifted, even light. Because the sky background is undifferentiated by light, the figure does not seem to be surrounded by space, and thus its flatness and complete isolation are emphasized. The Baldovinetti profile in the National Gallery (Fig. 36) is a luminous silhouette. It seems phosphorescent in comparison with the more opaque Castello Master and Pollaiuolo portraits; the rich, illusive, golden glow is unique in the profile group. The gold pigment used

38. For observations on the Eyckian handling of light cf. M. J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924, I.

39. Cf. Antal, *loc. cit.*, and in *Jahrbuch für Kunsthissenschaft*, XXX, 1924/25, pp. 207-269; R. Hamann, *Die früh-renaissance-der italienische Malerei*, Jena, 1909; Saxl, *loc. cit.*

40. E. g. Pisa, Museo Civico, Madonna and Child with two Angels; Boston, Richard Wheatland, Madonna and Child with two Angels.

41. E. g. New York, C. R. Holmes, Madonna and Child.

for the dotting of the dress radiates light, while the flesh and clothing and hair of the figure seem luminous. The texture of flesh and cloth is very granular, having been constructed by an infinite number of stippled points, with the high-lights constellations of tiny white dots. All around the edge of the profile there is a thickening of these light dots, so that the figure is surrounded by a glowing outline.

Piero di Cosimo's profile portrait in Chantilly (Fig. 37) may represent a further evolution of the Baldovinetti luminism. Here is an entirely new meaning for the profile: it is neither primarily a low relief nor a flat silhouette, but a simple *valeur*. There is no linear contour. The face seems dematerialized; in tone and shape it is but a variation of the series of juxtaposed clouds. This profile foreshadows the work of Jan van Scorel, who, representing a climax of the Dutch sixteenth century tendency to eliminate plasticity and to replace it with tonalities, is prophetic in turn of the *plein-air* style.

The profile portraits may be enjoyed purely as design, but they must also be seen as tri-dimensional representations in space. In discussing the use of light in the profile portrait its space composition has necessarily been considered, for the functions of light and of space are closely related. It was found that the background of a typical fifteenth century Flemish portrait is an impression of space, that the pictorial treatment compels seeing the figure as surrounded by space; while in a typical fifteenth century Florentine portrait the non-luminous ground implies a striking of light upon but not beyond the figure, and so diminishes spatial suggestion. One must beware, however, of minimizing the spatial advances of the fifteenth century in Florence, remembering that space was clarified and stabilized rather than repudiated at that time. The represented space was static, limited like the space of a stage, with the objects as systematically distributed within it; and this space was mathematically articulated by means of perspective.

As Erwin Panofsky has observed,⁴² the science of perspective, so energetically developed during the Renaissance, was a corollary of the new historical sense; the people of the Renaissance were growing aware of distances, on one hand of historical distances, on the other of optical distances. The sciences of history and of perspective bear witness to the Renaissance desire to subject the rapidly widening horizon to clarification, and it is significant that in the fifteenth century Florence led both of these fields.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, Florentine perspective did not aim at illusionism, at confusing real and pictorial space, but at abstractly disciplining infinite space, at concentrating and articulating the painted spatial composition. This perspective might be defined as a geometrical systematization of the visible process.

In Renaissance Italy the theoretical construction of space achieved a firmer and a clearer effect than was the case in the North, but it also acted as a temporary check, an impediment, to the free development of space.⁴³ In the North, perspective, as illustrated in the work of Jan Van Eyck, was early developed on an intuitive

42. E. Panofsky, *Die Perspektive als symbolische Form* in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1924/25, pp. 258 ff., and in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, IV (1933), p. 274.

43. Cf. Panofsky, *Die Perspektive als symbolische Form*, *passim*.



FIG. 28—*Florence, Uffizi: Portrait of a Man, by Paolo Uccello*



FIG. 29—*Florence, Uffizi: Portrait of a Man, by an anonymous Florentine Master*



FIG. 30—*New York, Rockefeller Collection: Portrait of Michele Olivieri, by a Follower of Paolo Uccello*



FIG. 31—*Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum: Portrait of a Youth, by a Follower of Masaccio*



FIG. 32—New York, Metropolitan Museum:
Portrait of a Lady, by Frz Diamante (?)



FIG. 33—London, National Gallery:
Portrait of a Man, by Jan Van Eyck

rather than on a scientific basis. Van Eyck solved his problem by a precise observation of the manner in which each object to be represented was distributed in space; in Florence, Brunelleschi evolved a general law upon which every representation could be based. Flemish and Florentine painting illustrate opposite types of realism: the imitative, and the scientifically abstract. Representation was founded in the North upon an accumulation of minute optical experiences, in Florence upon a general scientific formula. Northern painting was intended to arrive at visual truth, Florentine at intellectual plausibility.⁴⁴ A Northern representation intended to approximate, with reference to general truth, an optical experience of nature; so the artist wished to suggest the homogeneity of real and pictorial space. Florentine representation intended to systematize and to generalize natural appearance, and so real and pictorial space were sharply distinguished.

In several of the Florentine profile portraits⁴⁵ the perspective indicates that the spectator was imagined as on a level slightly below that of the person represented (see Figs. 9, 10, 31). This is one of the various methods by which the portrait was separated from the world of the spectator. Within the picture, the represented space does not appear continuous; there are sharp breaks between the pictured person and his background, and even a landscape background tends to break up into parallel slices recalling the wings of stage scenery.

The development of interest in landscape is one of the latest chapters in the history of Florentine style. Landscape, really a section of infinite space, evolved in Florence with extreme conservatism. In the fourteenth century it was portrayed symbolically and compositionally rather than realistically; the Giottesque landscape, for instance, served to realize the narrative and aided in the architectural organization of the figures. The figures and the parts of the landscape were represented as independent plastic entities, architectonically related. It was towards the mid-fifteenth century, when landscape appeared to be rapidly gaining importance for its own sake and seemed about to absorb the figures to itself in a single spatial homogeneity, when the absolute continuity of landscape had been realized in the North, that, paradoxically, Florentine landscape began to be pushed into the background, to be segregated from the figures, and to be broken up into separate units. The deliberate conservatism and archaism of the second half of the fifteenth century seems to have acted as a temporary check to the free development of landscape. But, simultaneous with the checking process, there ran an undercurrent of freer development, and in the sixteenth century this latent tendency won out. Landscape then gained in importance, cleared itself of restriction, and at last established that spatial homogeneity with the figure which the fifteenth century had so energetically resisted.

It may reënforce this survey of the development of painted landscape to examine the parallel development of the Florentine garden;⁴⁶ for in the garden one sees

44. Consider Vasari's statement that "design.... having its origin in the intellect, draws out from many single things a general judgement; it is like a form or idea of all the objects in nature...". G. Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. G. du C. Vere, London, 1912, p. 206.

45. Fra Filippo Lippi, Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Fig. 9); Shop of Fra Filippo Lippi, Metropolitan

Museum (Fig. 10); Follower of Masaccio, Gardner Museum (Fig. 31).

46. Cf. L. Dami, *The Italian Garden*, New York, n. d., *passim*, pp. 8-29 especially and A. J. Rusconi, *La mostra del giardino italiano a Firenze in Emporium*, LXIII (1931), pp. 259-273 (note especially the first plate, illustrating the reconstruction of a Quattrocento Florentine garden).

most specifically the attitude towards nature which underlies the representation of landscape.

The Florentine fourteenth century garden, as it is described in the *Decameron* in the proem to the third day,⁴⁷ was a small walled enclosure. The garden was very simply arranged, the flowers and trees grew naturally. Pleasure was derived from the fragrance of flowers, the song of birds, the sight of green grass and bright fruits and flowers—pleasure sensuous rather than artistic. Within this garden there was just enough space to be enjoyed, and the outside world was not even contemplated. In the garden, as in the painted landscape of the period, one feels no worried stress on organization or limitation.

In the fifteenth century the garden, no longer walled, was greatly increased in size, and was carefully organized into parts such as avenues of trees, pergolas, terraces, and steps; parts which, however, were juxtaposed rather than organically related. One finds that the whole area of the garden was executed with the clarity and the crisp precision of an architectural floor-plan. Alberti remarks in his *de re aedificatoria* that the trees must be planted in straight rows at equal distances from each other like the columns in an arcade, and that trees and plants may be dealt with like any other material for architectural purposes—"with laurels, cedar trees and juniper closely interwoven, should be made circular patterns, according to the most highly praised architectural plans."⁴⁸ The garden was a structural composition, laid out in geometric lines and patterns, with its vegetation confined within formalized limits. Plants and shrubbery, reduced to the desired sizes and shapes, were used to trace patterns on the ground. Casual and uncertain slopes of ground were cut into terraces. Nature was definite, precise, with its parts clearly visible, measurable, and limited.

The landscape backgrounds of the Florentine pictures of the second half of the fifteenth century display, in a different medium, the same will to arrange and to articulate nature, and to divide it into separate units which may then be readily added up to a clarified total. This explains the organization of the ground into parallel strata and into ledges and terraces, and the division of fields into checkered patches⁴⁹ dotted with compactly rounded shrubbery and intersected with paths and streams. The splitting of the landscape into small units not only articulates the space, but gives to the panel a decorative appearance that reminds one of the miniatures, embroideries, and engravings of the period. Such backgrounds are not much more spatial than the conventionalized flower backgrounds so popular in the late fifteenth century. In the second half of the fifteenth century the Florentine artist limited the infinite extension of space by every means at his command. He tipped up the perspective of his picture so as to have a high horizon and a definitely limited depth, he blocked the horizon with mountain ranges, and, while representing extension into space by a scientific perspective construction, he gave the background so flat and tapestry-like an appearance that it tended to be read up and down as a part of the decorative panel surface rather than in depth as a reconstruction of space.⁵⁰

47. G. Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. J. Payne, New York (Modern Library), n. d.

48. Dami, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

49. The fifteenth century taste for checkered flooring has a similar significance.

50. Antal, *loc. cit.*, discusses the unspatial fifteenth century landscape as an aspect of Gothicism.



FIG. 35—*Florence, Pitti: Portrait of a Man,*
by Pontormo



FIG. 34—*Florence, Uffizi: Portrait of a Man,*
by Bernardino de' Conti



FIG. 36—London, National Gallery: *Portrait of a Lady*, by Alessio Baldovinetti



FIG. 37—Chantilly, Musée Condé: “*La Bella Simonetta*,” by Piero di Cosimo

The sixteenth century garden, in contrast with that of the fifteenth century, was more casual, more integrated, more extended in depth. The sharp fifteenth century fountain jet was replaced by a series of tumbling cascades. The plants breathed more freely, the trees grew more naturally. As in sixteenth century landscape there came a new sense of movement, of the play of light and shade; and sun and air sifted through and unified the whole extended park.

The changing relationship between the painted figure and its landscape is paralleled by that between the villa and its surrounding country in Florence. A study of this parallel is peculiarly significant in an analysis of the landscape backgrounds of the fifteenth century Florentine portraits, for in these portraits the figure is painted in reference to architecture. The figure set before the landscape—an innovation of the fifteenth century—is often represented as within an architectural setting, and even when no setting is specified it is implied by the position and scale of the figure in relation to the landscape (see Figs. 19 and 20).

In fourteenth century painting there seems to have been no consciousness of infinite space extending around and behind the painted figures, so that the figures seem to exist in casual juxtaposition to the landscape against which they are set. And the fourteenth century house with its walled garden was a plastic entity unconcerned about, and so neither a part of, nor separated from, the surrounding space.

But in the fifteenth century came the possibility of unbroken spatial continuity, and with it the decision to control and to limit space, to separate the represented area clearly from the whole space shared by spectator and picture, and to distinguish sharply the personages displayed in the frontal plane of the painting from the widely receding space behind them. Thus, when in paintings of the second half of the fifteenth century one repeatedly sees the manner in which the landscape is broken off just before the frontal plane is reached—such as by a rocky platform whose dentelled edges leave a small gap between the end of the representation and the frame of the picture (see Fig. 38)—one feels that the effect of continuity between the world of the spectator and that of the picture has been deliberately broken. The characteristic dropping away of the middle distance (see Fig. 27) creates another significant spatial gap, and seems to place the figures in the foreground plane in an isolated vantage point, firmly separated from the infinite space which exists behind them. Distance was surveyed from the regions of the near, the concretely tangible. Representations such as the triumphal processions on the reverses of Piero della Francesca's profiles (Fig. 38), which proceed along a narrow elevation of rocky ground with a wide gap on either side, are significant examples of the two phenomena just mentioned. The chief subject matter occupies the foreground, with spatial moats at front and back; the distant landscape lies, securely separated, behind and below this isolated foreground.

The fifteenth century house, with its large architectonic garden, surveyed the distant panorama from the safe vantage ground of its cultivated nature. The Early Renaissance villa prided itself on a view, which was something very different from a feeling of unity between itself and distant space. The view was beheld from a stronghold and separated by a gap, by a dropping away of the middle ground as in the painted pictures. The hilltop house and garden was an entity set before

rather than in space, as definitely isolated as a portrait set before its landscape background. Even in a photograph of one of these Florentine villas⁵¹ one feels the gap between near and far space, the sharp demarcation of tone and scale between near and distant areas. Villas such as Cafaggiuolo in the Val di Mugello near Fiesole were not situated on rising slopes, but on hills topped by flat terraces, ending abruptly; so that the vista was seen beyond the small plateau as something far away from the rim of familiar ground, perhaps framed like a pictured view beyond an arch of trees.⁵²

It was not till the sixteenth century that continuous spatial recession came into its own, and that the conflict between two-dimensionality and space was resolved in favor of the latter. By that time the painted figure was represented as existing in, rather than against, a landscape. And although the sixteenth century villa was still raised as on a throne above the surrounding country, the distant landscape was seen as continuous with the house and the garden. The entire garden was more casual; the edges were less well defined, and so the garden fused more readily with the landscape in which it was set, just as the lines of the house, by means of a transitional series of steps, balustrades, loggias, and rows of potted plants, easily crossed the limits of the garden.

It is interesting to contrast with the Florentine the French and Flemish landscapes of the fifteenth century; one may draw fair conclusions from the many representations of landscape in the miniatures of the period.⁵³ One sees castles settled picturesquely in the very midst of woods and lakes and hills; one even sees castle doors opening out to hilly ground, which gives the impression that the landscape continues into the very castle precincts. The occasional formal gardens near the castles grow naturally into the surrounding landscape, of which they seem truly to form a part, just as the castles seem parts of the landscape. At this time there was already a complete homogeneity of landscape space, and the freely rolling ground, the grassy meadows, and the winding rivers proclaim the natural freedom of the scenery.

Let us now examine the landscapes of the profile portraits.

In the Berlin *Fra Filippo* portrait (Fig. 9) the ruined and repainted landscape is clearly separated from the severely profiled figure and the architectural setting; it is seen as a picture from behind a stone window frame.

In the Metropolitan Lippesque portrait (Fig. 10) a landscape is viewed through a window. One sees the neat squares of a town receding into the distance, with a central road continuing exactly the line of the foreshortened window ledge at the

51. E. g. Villa Salviati, Florence (E. M. Philipps and A. F. Bolton, *The Gardens of Italy*, London, 1919, fig. 337).

52. Cf. Florence, Palazzo Riccardi, ms. 492, fol. 18 (P. D'Ancona, *La miniature italienne du X^e au XVI^e siècle*, trans. M. P. Poirier, Paris, Brussels, 1925, fig. 96).

53. Cf. for typical examples:

A. W. Byvank, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale des Pays-Bas et du Musée Mermano-westreenianum à la Haye*, Paris, 1924, figs. 33, 54.

L. Durrieu, *La miniature flamande au temps de la cour de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1921, figs. 6, 7, 33, 42, 43, 44, 45, 72.

L. Durrieu, ed., *Les très riches heures de Jean de France duc de Berry*, Paris, 1904, figs. 4, 11.

G. H. de Loo, ed., *Heures de Milan*, Paris, 1911, figs. 8, 16, 20, 22, 28, 29.

H. Martin, *La miniature française du XIII au XV siècle*, Paris, 1924, fig. 58.

F. Winkler, *Die flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1925, figs. 14, 15, 51.



FIG. 38—*Florence, Uffizi: Allegories*, by Piero della Francesca



FIG. 39—*San Marino, Huntington Museum: Portrait of a Lady*, by Bastiano Mainardi



FIG. 40—*London, National Gallery: Portrait of a Man*, by Dirk Bouts



FIG. 41—Richmond (Surrey), Cook Collection: *Portrait of a Lady*, by an anonymous Florentine Master

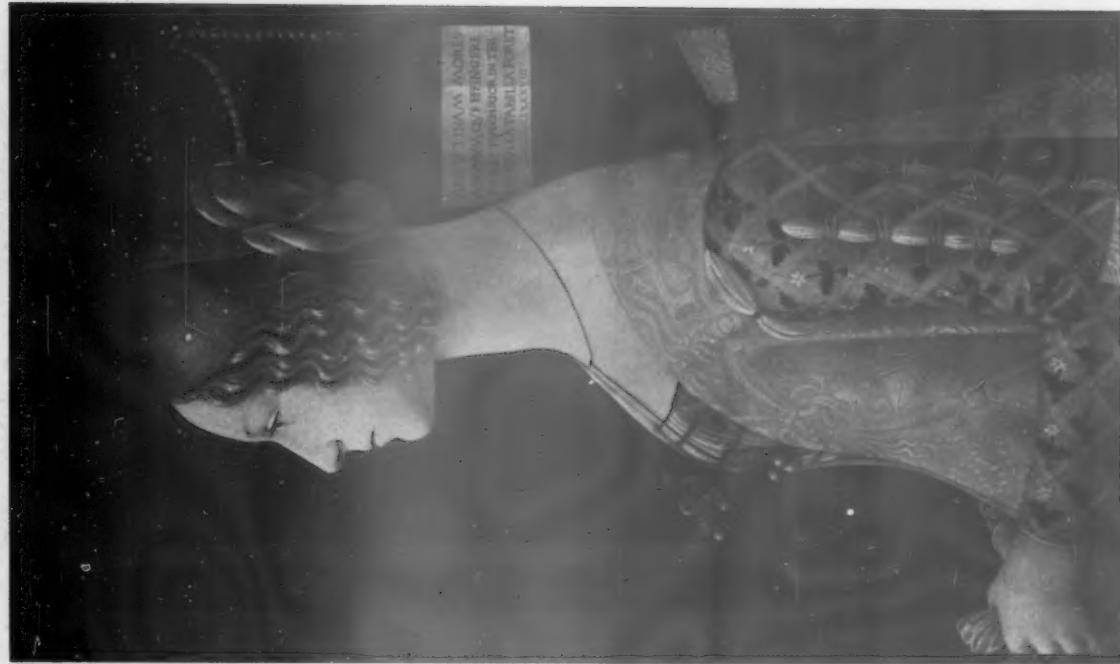


FIG. 42—New York, formerly J. P. Morgan Collection: *Portrait of Giovanna Tornabuoni*, by the Shop of Domenico Ghirlandaio

left and so assimilating itself to the architecture of the room. A mountain range in the distance occasions a high horizon and, as in many of the Uccello panels, the landscape is tilted up in order to further limit depth.

Seen through two open windows in the Altenburg portrait (Fig. 26) is a varied and delicately beautiful landscape, stopped by mountains as was the landscape previously considered.

The sky backgrounds of the Pollaiuolo profiles in Berlin and Milan (Figs. 11 and 12)⁵⁴ might suggest space by challenging the reconstructive imagination of the spectator. But the sky will more probably be regarded as a flat colored ground which sets off the profile, and clouds as variations of the streaked paint surface.

In the coupled portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino (Figs. 19 and 20) the two persons are silhouetted against the same landscape. No windows are represented, but the sitters are portrayed as if viewed through two casements; and the vertical division of the frame creates a gap, as would a window jamb, between the landscapes. The figures are portrayed as on an eminence high above their domains. In each of the pictures the horizon cuts across the neck of the figure, isolating the head against the wide, blue expanse of sky, and pointing the contrast between the vertical figure and the level landscape.

The landscape grounds for the Mainardi couple in the Huntington Museum (see Fig. 39),⁵⁵ unlike the Piero della Francesca backgrounds (see Figs. 19 and 20), fit together in unbroken continuity, and are both less distant and less differentiated tonally and chromatically from the figures. The figures, however, are within an open loggia and so are separated from immediate contact with the landscape.

The wide, imaginative landscape of Piero di Cosimo's "Bella Simonetta" (Fig. 37) provides interesting contrast with the prosy scenery of all the earlier fifteenth century portraits. The landscape now echoes the personality and mood of the sitter. The bare trees, the distant castle, the swirling clouds, combine to form a rich, romantic scene, full of suggestive overtones and of subtly suggested relationship with the person portrayed. The lady, however, is still set against, rather than within, the background space. How different is the *Monna Lisa*, seated on a balcony above the landscape, yet touched by the same atmosphere that encompasses the mountains and the sky!

In examining the significance of the architectural background and of the ledge, as used in the profile portraits, one may further elucidate the principles which have been suggested by the study of the landscape.

The architectural background, so popular during the entire Renaissance, made possible the most precise definition of space. The architectural window frame served a purpose similar in some respects to that of the painted inner frame; it severed the portrait from outer space, and kept the figure firmly inside the limits of the picture. The architectural loggia, as one sees it suggested in the Berlin Pollaiuolo and fully realized in the Altenburg profile (Fig. 11 and 26), separated the figure from immediate

54. Possibly such a ground existed in the Uffizi portrait (cf. appendix).

55. The companion piece to the profiled woman is a man in three-quarter view. The portraits in the

Huntington Museum (Fig. 39), in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, and in the Louvre (cf. appendix) are very similar.

relationship with the landscape. And the corner room arrangement for a portrait, which occurs for the first time in 1446 in the portrait of Edward Grimston by Petrus Cristus,⁵⁶ was for the Florentines a way of limiting and defining interior space (see Figs. 10 and 26).

The use of the architectural background provided, also, a realistic means of associating a painted figure with architectonic regularity. Rectilinear stone grounds such as those in the Botticelli school portrait in the Pitti and in the Fra Diamante portrait (Figs. 25 and 32) tend to lend their stability to the profile itself, and they echo and reënforce the defining and bounding function of the severe profile contour. Architectural settings such as that in the Altenburg portrait (Fig. 26) also act as reënforcing frames, emphasizing the function of the frame as an integral part of the composition.

The architectural ledge used in connection with a portrait is found for the first time in Jan Van Eyck's *Leal Souvenir*, dated 1432 (Fig. 33). Such a ledge, like the architectural frame, may derive from provincial Roman tombstones, where the bust-length figure is represented as emerging from behind an architectural frame consisting of stone columns and a ledge.

The ledge as used in portraiture is an interesting Renaissance phenomenon. It serves, on one hand, as a naturalistic *raison d'être* for the bust-length figure and as a connecting link between spectator and portrait, and, on the other hand, as a monumentalizing socle for the bust, and as a *repoussoir* separating portrait from spectator. In the Van Eyck portrait (Fig. 33) the ledge is rendered in as spatial a manner as is the figure; and as the whole seems to draw the spectator within its homogeneously lighted space, the ledge creates a transition between the plane of the spectator and of the portrait. In a portrait by Dirk Bouts in the National Gallery, dated 1462 (Fig. 40), the ledge itself is not seen, but the arms rest upon a part of it, and so it actually exists by implication between the portrait and the spectator. In the Altenburg profile (Fig. 26), on the other hand, the window sill acts as a separate ledge, closing the composition at the bottom and detaching the figure from outer space.⁵⁷

The lettered slabs basing the Chambéry profile⁵⁸ and the Duveen⁵⁹ and Rockefeller profiles (see Fig. 30) are forerunners of the architectural ledge. Such a flat strip is appropriate for a profile, for behind a foreshortened ledge the figure could not exist in a narrowed frontal plane. These profiles scarcely seem to recede; the inscribed slab and the profile tend to be seen as existing together in the abstract frontal plane which coincides with the panel surface. It was not till Piero di Cosimo's sixteenth century portrait of Francesco Giamberti that a true foreshortened ledge was used, in Florence, in connection with a profile.

It is interesting to see how the technique of painting, in the narrow sense of the word, coincides with the total aesthetic of the fifteenth century profile portrait.

The Italian use of tempera during the fifteenth century, as distinguished from the

56. Corhamburg, Earl of Verulam.

57. Such a sill serves the same purpose as, for instance, the arm of the throne in Fra Filippo Lippi's Uffizi Madonna.

58. Cf. appendix.

59. *Ibid.*

Northern use of oil, is not an accidental phenomenon, for these two methods accord fundamentally—necessarily—with the characteristics of the two arts. Tempera technique, as compared with oil, is more limited, less free, and better suited to the representation of a visualized set of images and an organized design. Tempera execution is an architectural process; it starts from a completely planned design, which is never lost, and the very first outlines of which are preserved to the last in the opaque gesso surface. The paint remains a co-material with the wooden substructure, while in the oil process consciousness of the existence of the panel is lost. The old tempera painters were craftsmen who proceeded slowly, methodically,⁶⁰ and with some difficulty. The oil technique, as practiced by the Van Eycks, eventually made possible a freer and more realistic rendering, and, literally and figuratively, gave a new depth to painting. The thick layer of oil pigment seems filled with light, whereas the dry tempera surface only reflects it, and this new luminous depth also gives an illusory luminosity and depth to the representation. With oils, too, the likeness is gradually attained instead of being worked up from a finished plan, and as the medium is slow-drying the plan may more readily be changed. This slowness of drying allows a building up of impression almost simultaneously with the process of visualization. The connection with the vision is also brought closer because, with the oil as a solvent, tones and colors mix and fuse, and subtle transitions may be caught.

The fundamental difference between the tempera and the oil technique is that the one represents a process of combination—of addition—the other a process of synthesis. Oil colors would fuse simultaneously and coalesce in one stratum. Tempera pigments tended not to mix. Often one color had to dry before the adjacent one was applied, and one layer of pigment had to be dry before the next could be superimposed. For gradations of tone and tint a system of hatching was used, and as the paint was stiff and the colors did not mingle, it was difficult to achieve any subtlety in the transitions. Thus, in a tempera panel the drawing, coloring, and shading remained somewhat separated. Instead of creating a dynamic unity by the synthesizing of all the infinitesimal parts, the tempera process constructed a stable whole by adding together sizable and distinct units.

This additive process, which represents the traditional Florentine method of construction, found expression not only in the technique but in every aspect of Florentine art.⁶¹ Notice how even a painted fifteenth century hand exists in juxtaposition to, rather than in organic unity with, the object it grasps, how a foot does not press upon the ground, but exists rather in conjunction with it. And in the profile portraits the fact that the parts have been coördinated by a process of addition rather than of synthesis is especially clear. A flatly profiled head, for example, is joined to a foreshortened bust, or a relatively organic figure is silhouetted against a totally abstract background. Notice the plastic isolation of the features,

60. Cf. *The Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini*, C. J. Herringham, ed., New York, 1899, for a detailed contemporary description of this method.

61. One might even compare the Florentine and Flemish gardens with the national difference in

painting technique, for the Florentine consists of architecturally constructed units, the Flemish of bits which are but infinitesimal and inseparable parts of the whole.

the linear isolation of the contours,⁶² and the compositional isolation of the colors and tones. Even where attempts have been made to reconstruct the appearance of a face, there is a linear disintegration of the surface rather than the typically "Eyckian" homogeneity. In the profile portraits color, light, and form were not identified and synthesized; the forms were seen as if subsequently colored and illuminated, and color and light were rendered by strokes of tempera paint which remained visible as such. The artists who created the profile portraits must, in general, have found the decisiveness and orderliness of the tempera technique well suited to their purpose, and the profile group as a whole is characterized by the typical tempera style.

But these portraits also reveal signs of a transition towards the oil technique, for they border upon the sixteenth century, when the new dynamic world, diffused in space, was pictured in the more fluid medium of oil. The group of artists with whose era this essay is concerned—Antonio Pollaiuolo, Piero della Francesca, Baldovinetti, Verrocchio—were occupied with technical questions and experiments, for already in their time a change in the mode of vision was requiring a corresponding change of method. Although illusionism was not yet an acceptable formula, the artist's vision was becoming more immediately connected with the visual processes, and the artist's expression was drawing towards the oil technique.

But just as in fourteenth century French panels oil was first used on bits of metal foil to enhance the beauty of the garments, and not till later conceived as a method to be employed throughout, so in fifteenth century Italy oil was resorted to⁶³ for details of costume and landscape⁶⁴ before it was used for the entire picture.⁶⁵ It is significant that it is in the small detail that one finds the most noticeable advance towards the oil technique, and that the predella panels are always more advanced in this respect than are the more monumental works. First of all, the act of painting small objects was of itself a link with the style of oil painting.⁶⁶ In the process of painting large objects the fine brush covered so minute a part of the surface that it was impossible to render the object with anything like the rapidity with which it was seen, while in the painting of small objects a stroke of the brush actually defined a shape instead of merely helping to construct a part of it. In painting trees in a distant landscape, for instance, each stroke of the brush instantly transferred to the panel a single visual fact. In this manner the oil painting reconstructed, point by point, the visualized field; while the tempera painting tended to parallel generally, in a separated process, a remembered rather than a visualized

62. In a tempera painting the contour is a binding agent, a frame for the units of mass; in an oil painting the contour, less important, is but one of an infinite number of edges.

63. From Cennino Cennini one gathers that in the early fifteenth century the use of oil was known but not widely adopted in Italy. Cf. Herringham, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

64. Cf. Botticelli's *Fortitude* in the Uffizi for the use of an oil medium in the drapery, and Pollaiuolo's *Hercules* panels (see Fig. 27) for its use in the landscape.

65. Just so optical realism developed: first individual parts were more realistically portrayed, and then the whole picture was conceived as a part of the visual field.

66. Cf. Offner, *op. cit.*, p. 26. "The small brush used in covering a large surface necessitated a technique both slow and mechanical, and the individual stroke bore no relation to the resultant shapes. In miniature painting the ratio between the brushstroke and the shapes represented was more nearly equal, each stroke became a visibly integral element of the final form, which, it will be easy to see, brought about a swifter transmission of the artistic vision."

scene. Thus, in comparing a Florentine with a Flemish portrait head, for example Fra Filippo Lippi's Berlin portrait (Fig. 9) with Bouts' contemporary portrait in London (Fig. 40), one feels that instead of recreating the flesh cell by cell and pore by pore, with each brushstroke an imitative thing, the Florentine head has been executed in large, generalized units, so that one is aware of the painted surface as such, more firmly knit and harder than life. In comparing a Florentine with a Flemish landscape, however, this difference is less noticeable, for in both cases the whole has been reconstructed by many small imitative touches of the brush.

In the profile portraits the rendition of textural variations, such as the fur collar of the Rockefeller portrait (Fig. 30) or the gauzy headdress of the Fra Filippo profile (Fig. 9), points to a desire for a closer approximation of reality. And the attempt to achieve subtler transitions of tone and color by more minute hatching⁶⁷ leads directly to the oil technique, which made possible a still closer relationship with the visible world. Thus, too, the stippling method, mentioned in connection with the Baldovinetti profile (Fig. 36),⁶⁸ may be seen as a link with oil painting. This dotting paralleled the oil technique in that it attempted a subtler fusion of tones than could be achieved by hatching, and in that it arrived at a more luminous, a more dynamic, and a more pictorial effect. Antonio Pollaiuolo's profile portraits (Figs. 11 and 12) are the earliest Florentine portraits in which some use of an oil medium can be clearly detected; it is used in the painting of the embroidery, of the hair, and of the sky.

The figure style of the fifteenth century profile portrait in Florence is, as might be expected, completely in keeping with all its other phases. As the profile was compositionally planned and technically executed, so it was physically and psychologically described in clear, sharply focussed terms.

The persons portrayed⁶⁹ are in early youth when bodies are slim and features finely cut. These characteristics are well adapted to a clearly silhouetted profile in low relief. In the female portraits one sees that the eyebrows have been plucked to form a fine, evenly arched line, and that the hair has been plucked from the forehead and the nape to accentuate the unbroken height of the brow and the stalky length of the neck. In a portrait such as that by the Castello Master in the Gardner Museum (Fig. 22) one sees the manner in which cosmetics were applied as a smooth-looking veneer. The brilliantly colored lips and the pencil-lined eyes, set in the vividly whitened face, give to the head the hard and artificial look of a fine mask.

The delicate beauty of the Pollaiuolo maidens in Berlin and Milan (Figs. 11 and 12), with their dainty, tilted noses, childlike lips and small, pointed chins, is to be found only in this period. In sixteenth century portraits the type of woman is more mature, broader, and fuller. Her features are more regular; there is never a large and prominent or a pert, *retroussé* nose. The eyebrows, thicker and straighter, form a more massive and quiet line, the forehead is lower, the hair is not plucked, and is treated as a simple mass instead of being elaborately twisted and coiled and twined with ribbons and jewels.

67. The other side of this transition is that when an oil medium was first used the tendency was to hatch it like tempora.

68. Cf. the Pisanello portrait of Leonello d'Este (Fig. 8), where this pictorial method is clearly visible.

69. Almost all women. The feminine profile was intrinsically flatter and more decorative.

Similar distinctions may be made between the costume of the fifteenth and of the sixteenth centuries.

The feminine costume that one sees in the profile portraits⁷⁰ is sparkling and gay; the materials are elaborately patterned and vividly colored.⁷¹ The jewels which the ladies wear are variegated in hue, and there seems to have been a predilection for necklaces with beads of alternating colors—another instance of the taste for tonal checkering. The headdresses are stiff and elaborate. This is well displayed in the portrait in the Cook collection in Richmond (Fig. 41) and in the engraved profile in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (Fig. 15). The latter shows how strikingly close to the jeweler's and the goldsmith's work was the elaborate fifteenth century costume.⁷² In the Lippesque portrait (Fig. 10) one sees a gala costume of heavy brocade, with its rigid tubular folds, and in the Pollaiuolo and Castello Master groups (Figs. 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 21, 22) there are gowns of elaborate flower-designed brocades, with the sleeves stiffly separated from the rest of the dress. The low cut of the back of the neck, it is interesting to note, supplements the plucked hair in lengthening the neck line, and also makes the back appear straight and slender. The large jewel worn at the peak of the headdress further accentuates height and creates a vertical accent, while the jeweled fillet and the tassel of hair are set well back so that the entire head is endowed with a shapely profile.

The sixteenth century woman, as portrayed in the period, was clothed less trimly and gaily, in heavier and more freely flowing materials. Small flower patterns were no longer used. The taste was for greater bulk and breadth, and the costume, like the organization of the features, reflects this. Raphael's *Donna Velata* in the Pitti is a typical example. Instead of an elaborate headdress, a cloth veil falls simply over the head and shoulders, creating a broad pyramidal silhouette. The wide, low neck line and the Shirred blouse display the roundness of the bust, softly full and no longer pressed into a hard, tight bodice. The sleeve, instead of being a neat caselike appendage, is heavily puffed and falls into deep, irregular folds. In the face and figure and clothing of sixteenth century portraits there is a rich, velvety fullness very different from the staccato brightness and crisp patterning of the fifteenth century profiles.

Psychologically, the profile portrait was meant to be obvious, to be completely exposed to the gaze of the spectator. One feels nothing subtly esoteric as in *La Gioconda*. There is no psychological, as there is no plastic, *sfumato* effect. Expression is limited to character in its tangible, visible aspects.

70. The costumes seen in the bust-length profiles may best be examined full length in the miniatures and cassone panels of the period. In a famous cassone front in the Florentine Academy (P. Schubring, *Cassoni*, Leipzig, 1923, pl. LVII) one sees a richly dressed marriage procession of youths and maidens, each of whom is profiled in graceful, swinging curves. The costume creates a stylized silhouette much as did the French courtly costume which strongly influenced Italy at this time. One sees how the length of the feminine figure is accentuated by the train and by the long, wing-like drop of the over-sleeve, how the slenderness of the body is emphasized by the contrast of the high, heavy headdress set upon the

long neck. In the masculine costume the heavy cap adds to the height and by contrast slenderizes the body.

71. Cf. E. Rodocanachi, *La femme italienne*, Paris, 1922, and E. P. Calamandrei, *Le vesti delle donne fiorentine nel quattrocento*, Florence, 1924.

72. In the second half of the fifteenth century there was a close connection between the painter's and the goldsmith's crafts. Artists such as Antonio Pollaiuolo and Andrea Verrocchio exemplify the "goldsmith-painter" style; in their paintings the goldsmith's training is seen in the minutia of detail, in the linear neatness and precision, and in the metallic look of the painted surfaces.

The fifteenth century Florentine portrait is self-contained in the literal sense of the word; it is absolutely complete in itself, and seems thrice removed from casual contact with the spectator. In a lecture on Dirk Bouts given at the Metropolitan Museum in 1933,⁷³ Erwin Panofsky drew an interesting comparison between fifteenth century Italian and Flemish portraiture. He contrasted with the typical self-contained and self-sufficient Italian portrait Bouts' *Portrait of a Man* in the National Gallery (Fig. 40). The same difference, he went on to explain, existed between the Italian and the Dutch house: the one was a hard, thick-walled, organically plastic entity, the other a shell consisting of thin, non-plastic brick walls and large glass windows, opening out much as do the eyes of the Bouts portrait, and "osmotically" drawing in the eyes of the passers-by.

In the Florentine profile portrait the very pose separates the person portrayed from communication with the spectator. The profiling of a face tends also to generalize, to immobilize, and to repress expression.

In a profile the features tend to be seen as abstractly united by the contour, a line marking an edge which does not actually exist in the face; while in the full-face or three-quarter view the features seem more organically related by the structure of bone and flesh and muscle.

In a profile, also, the animate features—eyes, nose, and mouth—occupy but a fraction of the space that they do in the full-face or three-quarter view. The portraying of only half of the features tends to immobilize expression, for it is partly in the slight asymmetry of the features that mobile expression resides. The profile pose makes the head seem completely static, and there is no more suggestion of transition in the individual features than in the entire head. Even in a profiled face the features may be dynamically organized, but in the fifteenth century profile the features and contours, disposed so as to be approximate verticals and horizontals, appear comparatively static. It is significant that the fifteenth century Florentines found nothing amiss with the creation of a portrait from a plaster cast or even from a death mask. The original Botticelli profile of Giuliano de' Medici⁷⁴ is believed by some⁷⁵ to have been painted from such a mask; regardless of whether or not this was actually the case, it is a significant fact that the expression has been immobilized, eternalized, rather than made lively and specific.

Expression, like movement, is an essentially transitional element, and so it tended to be repressed in the profile portrait of the fifteenth century. Psychological interpretation was kept at a minimum, uncomplicated youth was portrayed, and in the profile portrait the silhouetted head was of the greatest interest as the compositional crown of the profile rather than as the seat of the soul. There was none of that hierarchy of psychological importance which, in the Flemish fifteenth century portrait, centered interest so strongly in the head and hands. Such a varied emphasis would have destroyed the integrity of the silhouette. The hands tended to be omitted from the profile portrait, and the head was kept to the quality of still life, often as objectively characterized and as inanimate as the cloth of the dress.

73. E. Panofsky, lecture course, *Origins of Flemish Painting*, Metropolitan Museum, New York, Feb.-April, 1933.

74. Cf. appendix.

75. Cf. G. F. Hill in *The Burlington Magazine*, XXV (1914), p. 117.

Notice the mute composure of the Fra Filippo portrait (Fig. 9), the fresh, animal innocence of Antonio Pollaiuolo's ladies (Figs. 11 and 12), the deliberately remote gaze of the Botticelli school lady in the Pitti (Fig. 25), or of the Giovanna Tornabuoni formerly in the Morgan collection (Fig. 42). Examine the portraits by the Master of the Castello Nativity (Figs. 17, 21, 22), where the characterization is as brittle, as shallow, as intentionally a veneer as is the flawless cosmetic makeup. Notice, too, how the features are separated rather than drawn together and subordinated to a unified expression. Examine the stonily impassive couple so decisively pictured by Piero della Francesca (Figs. 19 and 20). From their faces the flexible tissue of nerve and muscle seems displaced, leaving all the concentrated strength of firm, invincible flesh and bone, without any possibility of weakness or change. Character, like the silhouetted shape, is here keen-edged and crystallized. These persons have achieved triumphant finality; untroubled by conflict of nerves or heart or mind, they are finely self-sufficient, poised, invulnerable, as they preside eternally over their Umbrian hills.

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This essay began with a description of the tendency towards abstraction in the second half of the fifteenth century in Florence; it will conclude with a survey of this trend, and of the profile portrait as its most typical exponent.

The abstract tendency in Florentine art originated in a strong antagonism to the new illusionistic manner of the first half of the fifteenth century. The middle of the century was the focal point of the conflict, and at about that period the clash began to resolve itself in a strong reassertion of the abstract attitude. The optical method had gained rapidly at the expense of the primitive mode of expression. The time, however, was not ripe for the development of a new coherent system; the old traditions were being confused and disrupted, but the new system was not yet acceptable as a substitute. Thus, this new method was vigorously opposed, and during the third quarter of the century the reaction against illusionism firmly established a new abstract mode. But this abstract phase was only a momentary reversal, for during the last decades of the fifteenth century the realistic tendency gained momentum, and by the early sixteenth century illusionistic realism had become a satisfactory substitute for the traditional method.

Art history contains several parallels to the reassertion of tradition at a moment when it is likely to be lost.

In French Gothic sculpture about the second quarter of the fourteenth century there developed a similar reaction from the evolution towards a chiaroscuro style. Following the classic Gothic style of the Amiens Vierge Dorée, the Notre Dame Virgin of 1335 represents a reactionary and so an exaggerated and a self-conscious reassertion of bi-dimensional form; this phenomenon occurred shortly before the Claus Sluter type of sculpture was to revolutionize Gothic style by subordinating plastic form to luminary impression. In French Gothic sculpture, as in Florentine Renaissance painting, the advent of an optical style was opposed and checked by a reactionary insistence upon the relatively abstract traditional method.

In the history of Sienese painting one finds in the late fourteenth century a similar moment of reaction, following the advanced style of the Lorenzetti, and

preceding the development towards a still more pictorial method. The work of artists such as Bartolo di Fredi and Andrea Vanni reveals a sort of Manneristic reaction from a spatial and chiaroscuro style. It is interesting to observe how, during this Sienese period of reaction, interest in naturalistic lighting and in the development of cubic space and plastic form was lost. The figures tended to be displayed in one plane and to be brought into exact frontality instead of into three-quarter view. The contours suggest a decorative rather than a plastic function. The landscape appears unspatial, the light conventionalized. The mass seems flattened, and there is always a certain static quality, with the suggestion of the figures having been carved in wood or metal instead of having been painted.⁷⁶ It is not necessary to point out the relationships between this manner of painting and the reactionary style of the second half of the fifteenth century in Florence.

In Florence, after the seemingly definitive adoption of illusionism in the sixteenth century, a second reactionary phase began. The Manneristic style was essentially a recoil from High Renaissance style, a reaction preceding the Baroque, which was, in essence, anti-Manneristic.⁷⁷ It is a significant fact that Florence was the stronghold of Mannerism, that more than any of the other centers it resisted the advent of the Baroque, and that the Baroque style finally developed on Roman rather than on Florentine soil.

It must be remembered that each of the reactionary periods just discussed was necessarily based both upon the preceding style from which it reacted, and the still earlier style which it reacted towards. The quality peculiar to these reactionary periods is tension, for they consist of a deliberate combination of opposing possibilities.

The representation of the Florentine painter prior to the fifteenth century depended upon memorized rather than visually observed forms. His painting embodied the universal, the eternal, rather than the specific and the transitory aspect of things. But during the early fifteenth century a degree of illusionistic realism was achieved, and so by the middle of the century the artist was aware of the possibility of incorporating in his representation the data of visual experience. This optical vision, however, was soon felt to be an unsatisfactory basis for representation. But the artist could not regain the primitive abstract vision, and he would not have been satisfied to retain the old inadequacies and confusions could he have done so. Thus, he was faced with the problem of reconstructing a newly observed world in a manner which would approximate the results of the old method—that is, of accepting visual appearance and then so thoroughly simplifying it that it would have, in a painted representation, all the stability and clarity and beauty of design of a purely abstract composition. It is obvious that the process of simplification must therefore have been both more rigorous and more conscious than in the primitive period. The abstractness consisted of a reduction, a systematization, rather than of an ignorance, of more advanced possibilities; and it is this highly deliberate and intellectual abstractness that, together with a peculiar tension, characterizes the style of the second part of the fifteenth century. Roger Fry's essay on the

76. Cf. M. Meiss in *The Art Bulletin*, XV (1933), p. 151.

77. Cf. W. Friedländer, *Der antimanneristische Stil um 1590 und sein Verhältnis zum Übersinnlichen*, in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1928/29, pp. 214-244.

Jacquemart-André collection⁷⁸ should be read in this connection. His definition of perspective as "the scientific statement of the nature of visual appearance"⁷⁹ might well define the distinguishing purpose of Florentine art in this period. And his observation, that the simplifications and abstractions which Uccello imposed upon his observation of nature "really set free in him his power of creating a purely aesthetic organization of form,"⁸⁰ might be applied more generally. The purpose of Florentine art in the second half of the century was an intellectual ordering of visual appearance. Thus, the inevitable result was an abstract organization of form; and so pure design became the consummate achievement of the period.

The conscious reassertion of abstract method, with the resulting tendency towards abstract design, pervaded the whole art of the second half of the fifteenth century in Florence. A panel such as Uccello's battle piece in the National Gallery, painted about the middle of the century, illustrates the artist's abstract organization of observed form, and the fine decoration which results from this aesthetic method. The generalized action and conventionalized structure have suggested to modern criticism an anticipation of cubism.⁸¹ The total impression derived from this painting is a decorative evolution of pattern rather than a representation of a dramatic moment. In Antonio Pollaiuolo's Hercules and Antaeus in the Uffizi (Fig. 27) a tremendous physical struggle is set forth, yet the decorative relationship between the shape of the panel and the silhouette of the figures, the isolation of the linear contour, and the lowering of the relief, tend to center interest on the figures as pattern. The attempt to simplify and to clarify the representation has again coincided with abstract decoration. Botticelli's Birth of Venus in the Uffizi once more reveals the abstract attitude of the Florentine artist in the second half of the fifteenth century. Rhythmic line and pattern, displayed in rich variety, has become a central theme. All the forms have been consciously simplified, even dematerialized, in order to enhance the decorative effectiveness of the line.

The tendency to self-conscious abstraction, discernible in every phase of culture during the second half of the fifteenth century in Florence, found its typical expression in the profile portrait. The chief aesthetic purpose of the period was to systematize, to clarify, and to stabilize appearance, and to enhance its decorativeness. With a view to these results representation tended to be immobilized as design. Defining line was emphasized, and color and light were used primarily as reinforcement for the pattern, while plastic volume, movement, and expression were reduced, and represented space was strictly limited. In the profile portrait one is aware of a deliberate abstraction of physical and mental existence, of time, and of space.

The profile portrait, peculiarly well suited to the aesthetic intentions of the second half of the fifteenth century in Florence, is a phase of expression associated with a period no longer under the domination of the conceptual image. It indicates the culmination of a moment in Florentine painting when the artist was conscious of the possibilities of illusionistic method, yet did not wish to break away from the clarity and immobility of the abstract composite image—when he considered it

78. R. Fry, *Vision and Design*, New York, n. d., pp. 186-192.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

81. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

unsatisfactory to record the outer world in terms of his brief visual experiences of space and light and movement. There had been a rapid evolution from the purely intellectual to the optical vision; and just before the final break with the past there arose a sense of danger, and a resulting impulse to check innovation and to reestablish tradition. The profile portrait represents a final and concentrated achievement of the Florentine intellectualism of the fifteenth century; it is a swan-song of the abstract tendency which lay so deeply rooted in Florentine tradition.

APPENDIX

The following is a catalogue of the most important Florentine profile portraits of the Quattrocento. An attempt has been made to list the portraits in chronological order, under the names which represent the most likely attributions.

1425-50

Follower of Masaccio: Portrait of a Youth, Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum. Fig. 31.
 Follower of Masaccio: Portrait of a Youth, Chambéry, Musée Benoît-Molin (inscription added later). Rep. in *The Art Bulletin*, XVI (1934), opp. p. 253.
 Follower of Paolo Uccello: Portrait of Michele Olivieri, New York, John D. Rockefeller Jr. (inscription added later). Fig. 30.
 Follower of Paolo Uccello: Portrait of Matteo Olivieri, New York, Lord Joseph Duveen (inscription added later). Rep. in L. Venturi, *Pitture italiane in America*, Milan, 1930, pl. CLXIV.
 Follower of Paolo Uccello: Portrait of a Youth, lost. Rep. in lithographic engraving in A. de Montor, *Peintres primitifs*, Paris, 1843, pl. 49.
 Follower of Paolo Uccello: Portrait of a Youth (drawing), Vienna, Albertina (completely gone over in the sixteenth or seventeenth century). Albertina reproduction, It. 2.
 Paolo Uccello: Portrait of a Man (drawing), Florence, Uffizi. Fig. 28.

1450-75

Shop of Fra Filippo Lippi: Portrait of a Lady and a Man, New York, Metropolitan Museum. Fig. 10.
 Master of the Castello Nativity: Portrait of a Lady, New York, Philip Lehman. Fig. 17.
 Fra Filippo Lippi: Portrait of a Lady, Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Fig. 9.
 Fra Diamante (?): Portrait of a Lady, New York, Metropolitan Museum. Fig. 32.
 Antonio Pollaiuolo: Portrait of a Lady, Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Fig. 11.
 Alessio Baldovinetti: Portrait of a Lady, London, National Gallery. Fig. 36.
 Master of the Castello Nativity: Portrait of a Lady, New York, Jules S. Bache. Fig. 21.
 Master of the Castello Nativity: Portrait of a Lady, Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum. Fig. 22.
 Piero della Francesca: Portrait of Battista Sforza, Florence, Uffizi. Fig. 19.
 Piero della Francesca: Portrait of Federigo da Montefeltro, Florence, Uffizi. Fig. 20.
 Follower of Piero della Francesca: Portrait of a Lady, Philadelphia, John G. Johnson. Fig. 13.
 Shop of Paolo Uccello: Profile Portrait of Filippo Brunelleschi with portraits of Giotto, Uccello, Donatello, and Manetti, Paris, Louvre. Rep. in J. Alazard, *Le portrait florentin de Botticelli à Bronzino*, Paris, 1924, pl. 2.
 Follower of Antonio Pollaiuolo: Portrait of a Lady (engraving), Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Fig. 15.
 Follower of Antonio Pollaiuolo: Portrait of a Lady, Detroit, J. F. Fisher (entirely repainted). Rep. in *Pantheon*, III (1929), opp. p. 12.
 Follower of Antonio Pollaiuolo: Portrait of a Lady, London, National Gallery. Rep. in Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, Hague, 1923/31, XI, fig. 213.
 Antonio Pollaiuolo: Portrait of a Youth (drawing), Rome, Palazzo Corsini. Fig. 14.
 Anonymous Florentine Master: Portrait of a Man (drawing), Florence, Uffizi. Fig. 29.
 Antonio Pollaiuolo: Portrait of a Lady, Milan, Poldi-Pezzoli Museum. Fig. 12.
 Antonio Pollaiuolo (?): Portrait of a Lady, Florence, Uffizi (considerably altered and entirely repainted). Rep. in Van Marle, *op. cit.*, fig. 205.
 Anonymous Florentine Master: Portrait of a Lady, Richmond (Surrey), Sir Herbert Cook. Fig. 41.

1475-1500

Piero Pollaiuolo (?): Portrait of a Lady, East Orange, Nils B. Hersloff (entirely repainted). Rep. in *International Studio*, LXXVII (1923), p. 206.

School of Sandro Botticelli: Portrait of Giuliano de' Medici, Paris, Baron Michele Lazzaroni. Rep. in Van Marle, *op. cit.*, XI, frontispiece.

School of Sandro Botticelli: Portrait of Giuliano de' Medici, Bergamo, Accademia Carrara. Phot. Accademia Carrara.

School of Sandro Botticelli: Portrait of Giuliano de' Medici, New York, formerly Otto H. Kahn. Rep. in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XV (1920), p. 163.

School of Sandro Botticelli: Portrait of a Lady, Altenburg, Lindenau Museum. Fig. 26.

Piero Pollaiuolo: Portrait of a Lady, Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum. Fig. 18.

Piero Pollaiuolo: Portrait of a Lady, Florence, Pitti. Rep. in Van Marle, *op. cit.*, XI, fig. 254.

School of Sandro Botticelli: Portrait of a Lady, Berlin, Dr. Noak. Rep. in W. Bode, *Botticelli (Klassiker der Kunst)*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1926, pl. 24.

School of Sandro Botticelli: Portrait of a Lady, London, National Gallery. Phot. National Gallery 2082.

School of Sandro Botticelli: Portrait of a Lady, Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Rep. in Bode, *op. cit.*, pl. 25.

School of Sandro Botticelli: Portrait of a Lady, Frankfurt a M., Städel Institut. Fig. 23.

Filippino Lippi (?): Portrait of a Lady, formerly London, Earl of Dudley. Rep. in *The Connoisseur*, VIII (1904), p. 204.

School of Sandro Botticelli: Portrait of a Lady, Milan, Palazzo Trivulzio. Fig. 24.

School of Sandro Botticelli: Portrait of a Lady, Florence, Pitti. Fig. 25.

Bastiano Mainardi: Portrait of a Lady, formerly Paris, Charles Sedelmeyer. Rep. in *Pantheon*, V (1930), p. 1.

Shop of Domenico Ghirlandaio: Portrait of Giovanna Tornabuoni, formerly New York, J. P. Morgan. Fig. 42.

Domenico Ghirlandaio: Portrait of a Man (drawing), London, British Museum. Rep. in Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, New York, 1913, I, pt. 2, pl. LXVIII.

Bastiano Mainardi: Portrait of a Lady, Washington, Andrew W. Mellon. Rep. in *International Studio*, LXXIX (1924), p. 207.

Raffaellino del Garbo (?): Portrait of a Lady, New York, Percy S. Straus collection. Rep. in *Pantheon*, V (1930), p. 5.

Bastiano Mainardi: Portrait of a Lady, Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Rep. in Van Marle, *op. cit.*, XIII, fig. 143.

Bastiano Mainardi: Portrait of a Lady, San Marino, Huntington Museum. Fig. 39.

Bastiano Mainardi: Portrait of a Lady, Paris, Louvre. Phot. Archives Photographiques.

Bastiano Mainardi: Portrait of a Lady, Florence, Bargello, Carrand Collection. Rep. in Van Marle, *op. cit.*, XIII, fig. 144.

Piero di Cosimo: "La Bella Simonetta," Chantilly, Musée Condé (inscription added later). Rep. in Van Marle, *op. cit.*, XI, fig. 238.

Leonardo da Vinci: Portrait of a Man (drawing), Windsor, Windsor Castle. Rep. in W. Suida, *Leonardo und sein Kreis*, Munich, 1929, pl. 105.

Leonardo da Vinci: Portrait of a Lady (drawing), Windsor, Windsor Castle. Rep. in A. de Rinaldis, *Storia dell' Opera pittorica di Leonardo da Vinci*, Bologna, n. d., fig. 40.

School of Leonardo da Vinci: Portrait of a Youth, Musée de Bonnat. Rep. in *Les dessins de la collection Léon Bonnat au Musée de Bonnat*, Paris, 1925, pl. II.

NOTES AND REVIEWS

THE STELE OF KALLISTRATE IN THE MUSEUM OF ST. LOUIS. By George E. Mylonas.

The City Art Museum of St. Louis acquired in 1932 the upper part of a grave stele which deserves to be better known as it certainly can be classed with the finest specimens of Greek funerary monuments in American museums. A brief report on the stele has already been published by Meyric R. Rogers, Director of the Museum, in its bulletin.¹

The fragment is of Pentelic marble and stands thirty-three inches in maximum height and twenty-six inches in maximum width. The maximum thickness of the slab at the edge amounts to four inches. Its relief is perfectly preserved and its beauty and power are not lessened by the fracture (apparent in the accompanying illustration) which runs almost parallel to the vertical axis of the stele, nor by the erosion of the stone caused by centuries of burial in soft, moist earth.

The subject represented on the stele is a familiar one. The deceased is shown engaged in a simple occupation of daily life, a theme introduced in archaic times and very common in the great periods of Greek art. She is represented in rather low relief and in profile, wearing an Ionic chiton and a thick mantle, and holding in her hands a necklace made of cone-shaped pendants which apparently she is about to fit around her neck. In her face is diffused a sadness, typical of funerary monuments, and also a nobility and charm that can hardly be described. Her features are simply and beautifully modeled, and her thick hair, arranged in rhythmical undulating waves over her head, ends in free and flying locks merely incised on the background behind her neck. Below the thin chiton, arranged in front in beautiful V-shaped folds, the artist indicated successfully the rich breast of the maiden, and he worked the thicker mantle so as to make it fall in deeper, heavier folds over the form, without hiding its essential sweeping lines. Equally successful was the artist in the gradual transition of his planes, from a high outer plane to an inner one that almost merges into the background, and perhaps to this successful transition is due the free and natural appearance of his figure. Quite interesting is the arrangement of the mantle over the right shoulder and behind the neck. The end of this mantle apparently was drawn across the waist and over the left arm as seen in a number of similar compositions.

The architectural frame that limits the stele is well proportioned and graceful in its simplicity. Its square pilasters end in simple *epicrana* that support a plain architrave on which the name, ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ, apparently the name of the deceased, is carved in clean-cut and well-spaced letters. A plain pediment terminating in palmettes is placed over the architrave.

1. *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis*, XVIII, no. 2, 1933, p. 14. To Mr. Rogers I wish to extend my thanks for his permission to study and publish this monument.

Originally the cornice of the pediment and the acroteria were covered with color which unfortunately is not preserved. But faint incised lines that were drawn to guide the painter in his work are apparent on the palmettes and on the cornice. On the horizontal member of the cornice we find a second inscription, scratched superficially without special care to letter forms and spacing, that reads as follows: ΚΑΛΛΙΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΠΑΙΑΝΙΕΥΣ.

From the two inscriptions on the stele we learn that it was erected in honor of Kallistrate, but that a second burial, that of Kallisthenes, was also recorded on it, in accordance with a custom not so rare in Athens. The marble, the inscription, not to mention the technique, prove that the monument belongs to the well-known group of Attic grave stelae. Its workmanship, simple but direct and forceful, its design with its sweeping rhythmical lines that envelop a warm living form, and its composition with a well-centered figure in a well-proportioned background, limited by a graceful architectural frame, will place our example among the more artistic members of that group. A comparison of our stele with other examples will enable us to place it within more or less chronological limits.

The monument with which our example can be successfully compared, and which it recalls at first sight, is the famous stele of Hegeso, now in the National Museum at Athens.² In the stele of Kallistrate we may not have excellence of modeling to the same degree, but we find the same inexpressible charm of facial features, the same beauty of design and composition, the same ability for differentiating draperies. Even the modeling of our example is not very inferior to that on the stele of Hegeso, and certainly it is superior to that exhibited by the average Attic grave stele. On the other hand, the well-proportioned architectural frame gives to it certain advantages in effect over the squarer form of the monument of Hegeso imposed by the more elaborate composition carved on its surface.

The treatment of the drapery over the right shoulder and the placing of the figure recall the stele in the Boston Museum of the maiden looking in a mirror.³ The latter, however, lacks the delicate rendering of our example, seems to be the work of an inferior cutter, and is of an earlier date. Even the architectural frame of that stele is more archaic. Chase places it in the age of Pheidias and Polyclitus,⁴ which age must form the upper chronological limit for our example. Nearer in date to it and nearer in workmanship and effect is a fragment of a stele in the National Museum at Athens. It represents a single female figure standing and perhaps holding a mirror in her raised left hand. Diepolder, who has recently

2. Gisela Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, fig. 429.

3. George H. Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections*, fig. 82; Hans Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, pl. 10; Richter, *op. cit.*, fig. 550.

4. Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

illustrated that fragment, places it in the last quarter of the fifth century B. C.⁵ We find again the interesting arrangement of the mantle of Kallistrate over her right shoulder in the stele of Glykylla in the British Museum,⁶ which Miss Richter places in the latter half of the fifth century. This schema in the arrangement of drapery seems to appear in that half of the century, when it was extensively used especially in funerary reliefs, but it was still employed in the fourth. We find it, for example, on the stele of Lysistrate in the Metropolitan Museum⁷ and on the relief of a marble lekythos in the Boston Museum,⁸ both works belonging to the first half of the fourth century. The evidence therefore obtainable from this schema gives us rather broad chronological limits which include at least the second half of the fifth and the first half of the fourth centuries. A consideration of the character and the quality of the work exhibited by our stele, however, will enable us to narrow these limits. The fact that the composition is a single figure, the importance given to the contour of that figure, the vigorous and severe treatment of line, and the lack of softness in the rendering, would argue for the fifth century.⁹ The similarities to the Hegeso stele, the ability of the artist to produce diaphanous drapery, place it at the very end of that century or the beginning of the fourth, an approximate date that is further indicated by the letter forms of the inscription cut on its architrave. The way the hair is rendered over the shoulder cannot be held against this date, because we find the same incised treatment in the fragment in Athens mentioned above, and even in the earlier stele of Mnesagora and Nicochares also in Athens.¹⁰ In connection with this arrangement it may be interesting to note the more horizontal and unnatural position of the hair in the examples quoted, a position which seems to have been derived from an archaic arrangement, as seen especially in the well-known relief of the Death of Aigisthos in Copenhagen.¹¹ In our stele the cutters have finally reached the best and most natural solution of a problem that had appeared in archaic times.

A comparison of our stele with monumental reliefs shows that it is near both in technical quality and in spirit to the composition carved on the parapet of the Nike temple on the Acropolis of Athens.¹² This and the evidence obtainable from its comparison with other funerary monuments lead us to the conclusion that the stele of Kallistrate was carved about 400. It was, therefore, produced during the most brilliant period of Greek sculpture and is a splendid illustration of the artistic temperament of a gifted people even whose marble cutters could produce monuments of lasting artistic value.

GEORGE E. MYLONAS

5. Diepolder, *op. cit.*, pl. 11, p. 20.
 6. Richter, *op. cit.*, fig. 306. A. H. Smith, *British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture*, III, fig. 37, no. 2231.
 7. Richter, *op. cit.*, fig. 317, and Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection of the Metropolitan Museum*, 1927, fig. 182.
 8. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, fig. 496; Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
 9. Cf. Richter, *The Sculpture...*, p. 100.
 10. Diepolder, *op. cit.*, pl. 5.
 11. Cf. Richter, *The Sculpture...*, fig. 182.
 12. Cf. Rhys Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, Harvard University Press, 1929, with excellent photographs by Bernard Ashmole.

THE EARLY WORK OF FRA FILIPPO LIPPI. By Georg Pudelko.

Among the problems of Italian painting in the Quattrocento which remain still in great part to be solved are those of the youthful development of its greatest masters. What did Uccello or Domenico Veneziano produce in their earliest years of artist activity? We do not know.

Certain works hitherto looked upon as Fra Filippo Lippi's earliest manifestations have recently been assigned by Mr. Berenson in a revolutionary article to the master's mature period; and in support of this hypothesis I believe I have been able to bring forward some additional material.¹

How does it come about that a mistaken conception of Lippi's youthful phase was and still is current? Largely because the obvious relation to Fra Angelico to be traced in certain of Lippi's paintings, and especially in the Nativities of Berlin and the Ufizi, has been interpreted as indicative of their early date of origin.² Such a conception goes entirely contrary to the original sources, such as Vasari. Vasari emphasizes Lippi's early dependence on Masaccio and, above all, on the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel, which the young master had daily before his eyes. We know that he resided from 1421 till 1431 as a monk in the convent of the Carmine, and after that there is no further mention of him in Florentine documents for a considerable period. In all probability, these were the years of his North Italian travels. He is mentioned as a painter in 1434 at Padua; and both Vasari and the Anonimo Morelliano confirm the fact of his sojourn in that city. Only in 1437 does a new mention of him occur in Florence, and from that date continues the sequence of documented works, beginning with the grandiose Madonna at Corneto Tarquinia (Fig. 6) and the altarpiece at the Louvre—a sequence in which we can follow with ease the development of the master.

By means of this corrected chronology for the *oeuvre* of Lippi, new light is thrown on certain works which, already ascribed to him a generation ago, have recently been brought forward again as his youthful productions. I refer to the remains of a fresco in the cloister of the Carmine, which depicted the Confirmation of the Rule of the Carmelite Order (Fig. 1 reproduces part of this fresco), given to Lippi in his early period by Vasari,³ to a small picture of the Madonna with Saints and Angels in the gallery at Empoli (Fig. 3),⁴ and to a large lunette-shaped panel with the Madonna, Saints, and Angels in the Castello

1. B. Berenson, *Fra Angelico, Fra Filippo e la cronologia*, in *Boll. d'arte*, XXVI (1932), pp. 1-22, 49-66; G. Pudelko, *Per la datazione delle opere di Fra Filippo*, in *Rivista d'arte*, 1935 (now in press).

2. For this and also for the relative documents cf. Van Marie, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, X, 1928, pp. 394 ff., and G. Gronau, in Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, XXIII, pp. 271 ff.

3. According to Schmarsow, *Masaccio Studien*, Kassel, 1896, II, pp. 60 ff., already referred by Otto Münder to Fra Filippo as early as 1860; also by H. Ulmann, *Fra Filippo und Fra Diamante*, Inaugural Dissertation, Breslau, 1890, p. 39, note. More recently by A. de Witt, *Un affresco di Fra Filippo Lippi nel Chiostro del Carmine*, in *Dedalo*, XII (1932) pp. 585 ff.

4. First attributed to Lippi by Schmarsow, in *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft für Photogr. Publikation*, 7 Jahrg., 1901, No. VIII; otherwise generally given to Pesellino, cf. G. Gronau, in Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, XXVI, p. 463. By C. Gamba, in *Boll. d'arte*, XXVII (1933), pp. 156 ff., considered as youthful work of Castagno, p. 292 as of Lippi.



St. Louis, City Art Museum: Fragment of a Greek Grave Stele



FIG. 2—Altenburg, Museum: *Holy Family*
by Filippo Lippi (?)



FIG. 1—Florence, Chiostro del Carmine: *Detail of Fresco*
by Filippo Lippi

Sforzesco, formerly in the Trivulzio collection at Milan (Fig. 4).⁵

It is superfluous to insist in detail upon the obvious dependence of this group on the art of Masaccio. There is an evident attempt after monumentality. The figures show simple and firm outlines, as, e. g., in the fresco a kneeling monk seen from behind or in the Trivulzio panel the two saints at the right, who go directly back to Masaccio's composition of Peter worshipped by the Faithful. The figures of this fresco, carried out in an almost monochrome technique, are boldly modeled in light and shade, and a clear sunny atmosphere, a truly plastic light effect seems to accent their purely corporeal existence. But the expression of volume does not yet amount to an exact presentation of the human structure, and, above all, there lacks as yet that grandiose spiritual unity between space, figures, light, and color, by means of which Masaccio brought the details into relation with the whole. The full mastery of execution is also lacking in this work of the youthful master, painted, however, with genial ease and freshness. A highly suggestive effect is obtained in the powerful forms, which point the way for Lippi's searching in his unruly way for a new plastic style.

That Fra Filippo Lippi must have made his first experiments in painting under the ascendant of Masaccio, becomes immediately evident from the fact that the works to be grouped around the Madonna of Corneto Tarquinia all point in the direction of the Brancacci Chapel and not in the least towards the delicate pictorial art of Fra Angelico.

A specific indication of the close relation to Masaccio is the almost entire lack in all this group of early works of any linear elements. Only the complete rounding of the forms has been made an object of consideration. Our eye immediately seizes each figure as a whole, and then, passing from block to block of figures placed side by side with astonishing imagination, penetrates into the depth of the picture.

The young painter achieves a striking spatial effect even in a picture of such slender dimensions as the panel at Empoli, where the whole scene is pushed as far as possible into the back of the picture.⁶ Except in the few architectural elements the perspective is handled in a very summary manner, and even the placing of the figures in relation to each other and to the total space does not yet follow, as in later works, an organic or systematic arrangement.

The powerful disposition of the spatial elements corresponds to the overwhelming sense of volume in

5. 0.85 m. \times 1.68 m. The old attribution to Lippi was refused by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Storia della pittura italiana*, Florence, 1892, V, p. 243. It was reiterated in Burckhardt's, *Cicerone*, ed Bode and Fabriczy, 10. Aufl., 1910, index vol., p. 68. Recently it was reproduced for the first time by R. Nicodemi in the *Illustrazione Italiana*, May, 1935, No. 18. See also Prof. P. Toesca, in *Encyclopédie italienne*, XXVI, 1934 p. 234. By R. Gioli, *La Trivulziana*, Milan, 1935 p. 82, attributed to Masaccio. Prof. M. Salmi (*Masaccio. valori plastici*, French ed., 1934, pp. 82 and 104) has briefly grouped together as youthful works of Lippi the fresco at the Carmine, the panels at Empoli and in the Trivulzio collection, at the same time adding to the group a Madonna with Saints and Angels at Chantilly (no. 12) which is also ascribed to Pesellino, but which is given by Prof. R. Longhi (*Pinacoteca*, 1928, p. 35, note 2) to the master of the Annunciation in the Lanckoronski collection at Vienna.

6. Lippi's effort after a more strongly marked spatial effect is evidently comparable to that evinced in Fra Angelico's Frankfurt Madonna, which served, as has already been noted, as model for the picture at Empoli.

the figures. Does there exist, apart from the works of Uccello, down to the Madonna of Corneto a figure combining cubic force and archaic grandeur like the Trivulzio Madonna? The primitive sculptural quality of the peasant-built Child is almost terrifying, with his chubby old man's face in its uncompromising ugliness. In the motif of the Child lying in the mysterious penumbra of the Madonna's drapery we approach very nearly to the forms of Masaccio, but Lippi goes beyond Masaccio's classical monumentality into a realm of sheer force.

This dramatic power in the plastic direction is traceable, moreover, to yet another source than that of Masaccio. An unadorned realism comes out in the works of the young master, a naïve enjoyment, giving a sense of life to his pictures, such as we meet with later on to a similar degree of brutality only in the work of Castagno. The sacred scene is stripped of its sacred elements. The wealth of invention in the motifs shown here is already characteristic of Lippi's production as a whole. The angels of the Trivulzio picture, with their firm noses and thick protruding lips, are of a sturdy youthful race. They peep curiously over the shoulders of the Madonna and smirk at the spectator. The same type of laughing face occurs both in the Empoli panel and in the fresco at the Carmine. It finds no parallel in Masaccio's severe art, but it can be matched among the genrelike figures of the train of the Magi in Gentile da Fabriano's Uffizi Adoration. Also the very modern feeling for nature, and the loving execution of flowers and foliage, which recur in the Trivulzio panel and in the Carmine fresco, have their antecedents in the naturalism of the Umbrian master. The flowers and blossoms, put in with touches of wonderful light and shade in the foreground of the Trivulzio Madonna, make us think of the mysterious beauty of Leonardo's nature studies, and in this connection we must remember that Leonardo's youth can only be understood in relation to that romantic current which predominated in Florence about 1460, and of which Fra Filippo Lippi's "forest" Nativities are perhaps the most characteristic examples.⁷

Yet another picture can be added to the youthful productions of Fra Filippo, a Madonna Enthroned between Peter and Paul in the possession of Lord Joseph Duveen (Fig. 5).⁸ With the qualitatively speaking poorer picture at Empoli, which is far coarser in execution, there are many points of contact. The head of the Bambino, identical in the two cases, and the similarity of the saints can serve as immediate proof for the attribution of Lord Duveen's picture to Lippi. Again, the existence of a Masacciesque model is at once to be felt. The noble expression of the Virgin's face, enframed in the simple folds of the head veil, goes back directly to the Madonna with St. Anne at the Uffizi, and, again, the way in which the Virgin supports the Child is obviously borrowed from the same source. In this way, too, may be explained the striking contrast between the markedly plastic hands of the Virgin and the spindly, almost helpless limbs of the Child, and that conjunction of the truly plastic with something archaic and undeveloped, which serves to heighten the charm of the

7. Cf. G. Pudelko, *op. cit.*

8. 51 \times 31 cm. I owe the photograph to the generosity of Lord Joseph Duveen.

picture. The sacred character of the scene, more marked than at Empoli, is emphasized to an almost Trecentesque degree by the retention of the old-fashioned gold ground, and as compared to the composition at Empoli the naturalism is less in evidence, traceable only in the charming idyll of the putti at play with the garlands. We are, indeed, reminded of Masaccio in the forms of the saints, and more especially of his small Saints at Berlin, but in Lippi's figures there is entirely lacking the sense of volume which is felt in their great models. Melodious, flowing lines lead us back, rather, to the memory of Masolino's decorative manner, and it is of this master, still fully endued with the Gothic spirit, that we are reminded in the soft, glowing colors, whose range is to be paralleled in the frescoes at Castiglione d'Olona, colors, however, of a wholly modern transparent texture, especially in the light yellow or in the delicate bright reds, which give to the picture something of the beauty of a cloisonné enamel. Color is, in fact, the particular domain of Fra Filippo's art. From the light background of this panel there streams out such a power of lighting that the whole picture is enveloped in a delicate atmospheric brilliance, which reminds us of the coloring of Domenico Veneziano, and which recurs in the astonishing atmosphere of the Carmine fresco, also given most significantly by Mr. Berenson to Domenico Veneziano's youth.⁹

We might well conclude that Lord Duveen's panel is the earliest of our group and perhaps the earliest extant painting of Lippi. But is this group of works indeed from the brush of the *frate*? The Trivulzio lunette, which shows the new style to the most complete degree and which is probably the latest work executed before Lippi's journey to North Italy, gives us, naturally, the best material for comparison with the authenticated works of the painter in and around the year 1437.¹⁰ The genial creation of Corneto Tarquinia, with its uniquely powerful fantasy of form, occupies a place apart in the otherwise fairly regular development of the painter, but to some extent it is akin to the stylistically unequal early work. The robust plasticity, the dramatic, energetic execution, the rigorous nature of the precipitate foreshortenings, all these are traits in common between the Corneto picture and the early group. Still more closely than to the Corneto picture, the early group is bound to the more typical works of the second period, such as the Enthroned Madonna in the Bache collection,¹¹ to which the panels with the Church Fathers at Turin once served as wings,¹² or the large altarpiece in the Louvre, which was commissioned in 1437. In support of this connection one may cite the fully plastic, rounded head of the Virgin, with the deep-set perspective drawn eyes, the broad nose, and the firm

9. B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 172, as Domenico Veneziano?

10. The extraordinarily important discovery of this picture is due to Prof. P. Toesca, *Una tavola di Fra Filippo Lippi*, in *Boll. d'arte*, 1917, p. 105. I hope to demonstrate in another place that Fra Filippo's development to the new style of the Madonna at Corneto Tarquinia or, still more, to the Madonna in the Medici Palace at Florence was dependent upon Paolo Uccello, especially upon his Madonna in the National Gallery of Ireland (Dublin), No. 603, hitherto ascribed to Lorentino d'Arezzo.

11. Reproduced by B. Berenson, *op. cit.* in *Boll. d'arte*, 1932, p. 19, fig. 16.

12. The dimensions of the Bache picture are 1.25×0.63 m.; of the panels at Turin, 1.22×0.57 m. each. All three panels have, however, evidently been cut down.

mouth. Or, again, the roguish angel behind the Trivulzio Madonna recurs very closely, from his almost quadrangular-shaped head to his raylike hair, in the angels of the Louvre altarpiece and even in those of the Uffizi Coronation.

The stylistic differences between the early group and the pictures of the second period is relatively great in spite of certain qualities which persist in all the work of Lippi. He now renounces the purely coloristic modeling of the figures after the manner of Masaccio; and line, which up to this point hardly entered into his art, becomes a direct means of expression. At this stage his line is as broadly swinging, as energetically drawn, and of almost as sculptural hardness as in the sculptures of Donatello. Lippi himself never again created forms so monumental as these of the Corneto panel, so well defined by the lines, which run down from the structural center, the knees, to spread in broad massive fold waves to the ground. Here lies the beginning of the ever-increasing systematic study of drapery structure, which is in itself one of the independent sides of Florentine painting, and of which the first important exponent was Fra Filippo Lippi. Opposed to him was another camp with Castagno and Antonio Pollaiuolo, whose main preoccupation was with anatomy. The convergence of these two lines of naturalistic research belongs to the art of Verrocchio, and, above all, to that of Leonardo, whose magnificent drapery studies remind us of the Corneto Madonna of Lippi. In Lippi's work the novelty lies in the synthesis between line and plasticity, a synthesis unsought by Masaccio, but which in Lippi's works around 1437 is still passionately sought after with youthful exaggeration, while in the works of the riper years of the 40's (Annunciation in Munich, 1443)¹³ it has been toned down into a quieter, more classic harmony.

Dr. C. Brandi has recently attempted in an interesting article¹⁴ to explain the change in style between Lippi's early works and those of his second period in the influence of Domenico di Bartolo, who made such a notable advance from Masaccio's plastic volume towards a new valuation of the element of line. But even if we admit some contact between the Sienese and the Florentine, it would only hold good for Lippi's earliest period. Domenico's activity at Florence, to which Vasari bears testimony, must fall in the period previous to the year 1428, when he was received into the painter's guild in his native city. But none of his works from this period have come down to us, and we can only conjecture of their possible character by working backwards from his later productions. A comparison between the Duveen Madonna of Lippi and Domenico's Virgin in the Refugio at Siena¹⁵—his earliest extant painting, executed, in all probability, before the Madonna and Angels of 1433 at Siena,¹⁶ shows that both works go back to some fundamental prototype by Masaccio, such as was followed by yet other masters.¹⁷ Both reproduce

13. For the dating cf. G. Pudelko, *op. cit.*

14. C. Brandi, *Ein Desco da Parto und seine Stellung innerhalb der toskanischen Malerei nach dem Tode Masaccios*, in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunsts.*, LV (1934), pp. 174 f. The attribution of the desco, hitherto referred to Masaccio, or with better reason to his school, to Domenico di Bartolo is not convincing.

15. Reproduced by van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, fig. 335.

16. *Ibid.*, XI, fig. 338.

17. On this point see G. Pudelko, *Studien zu Domenico Veneziano*, in *Mitteilungen des kunsthist. Inst. in Florenz*, IV, pp. 151-2.



FIG. 3—*Empoli, Collegiata: Madonna, Saints, and Angels by Filippo Lippi*



FIG. 4—*Milan, Trivulzio Collection: Madonna, Saints, and Angels by Filippo Lippi*



FIG. 6—Corneto Tarquinia, Palazzo Vitelleschi;
Madonna by Filippo Lippi



FIG. 5—New York, Possession of Lord Joseph Daven;
Madonna and Saints by Filippo Lippi

precisely the motif of the head of the Virgin in strictly classical full-face, enframed by the head veil which falls in refined diagonals on the breast so that the face is enfolded in a highly pictorial half shadow. The struggle towards the new plastic forms, the emulation of Masaccio, is common to both masters. A further connection between them is the way in which the perspective is not yet systematically applied to the whole pictorial field, but only to the architecture, or, at most, to the foreshortening of certain details, such as the haloes, whose inner lines are identically treated in their starwise arrangement, in Domenico's Madonna of 1433 and Lippi's Duveine Madonna. The predilection for foreshortening leads both masters into a similar line of research—to enliven the position of the heads by means of variations in their point of view, from above or below (cf., for instance, the angels in Domenico's picture of 1433 with those of Lippi's Trivulzio Madonna). And with this we come to yet another link between the two masters: their common model in Gentile da Fabriano. Lippi's angel heads, seen in sharp foreshortening, with their laughter expanding into a broad grimace, go back, as we have already seen to the Adoration of Gentile in the Uffizi.

Did these two painters, Domenico di Bartolo and Filippo, perhaps derive independently of one another from their two great predecessors, Gentile and Masaccio? The undeniable relation between them may be explained in a common course of development. Both start out from a combination of Masaccio's plastic forms with Gentile's rich naturalism. And still another master of the same epoch, Paolo Uccello, follows in a closely identical direction in his early frescoes in the Chiostro Verde, which were executed, perhaps, shortly before his journey to Venice (about 1425).¹⁸

Even the apparently sudden importance given to line in the painting of Lippi finds its parallel in contemporary Florentine art. We need only recall Uccello's development from the early frescoes in the Chiostro Verde to the equestrian figure in the Duomo (1436), from a solid but mobile plasticity, similar to that of Lippi's youthful works, to an overemphasis of line, which led on in the art of this fanatical lover of perspective to foreshortening and therewith to a three-dimensional conception. Even in Fra Angelico it is possible to trace in the course of the 30's an ever closer acquaintance with the new means of expression, the "realistic" use of line. From the Linaioli Madonna of 1433 or the Madonna at Berlin (No. 60) it is no great step to the Madonna of Lippi at Corneto (in regard to the drapery). And the evolution of the new realistic drapery is yet clearer in Northern Europe, in the art of Jan van Eyck or even of Konrad Witz, in the broadly-treated, half-toned fold masses with margins broadly spread upon the ground and treated almost in the manner of still-life. Here, as in Italy, the line only helps to emphasize the modeling of the drapery. Derived probably from the North, this realistic conception of form comes into fashion in Tuscany in the 30's. In what manner Lippi came to know and adopt this new device (perhaps during his stay in North Italy?)

18. G. Pudelko, *The Early Works of Paolo Uccello*, in *The Art Bulletin*, XVI (1934), pp. 231 ff. Here still dated after Uccello's return to Florence (1430).

cannot be ascertained. However that may be, the Madonna of Corneto Tarquinia is certainly Lippi's first work which shows him perfectly independent of Masaccio, on the way to a new style of evolution which was to become of decisive importance for the future of Florentine painting.

It would, however, be misleading to interpret, as some critics have done, the new triumph of line at Florence as a kind of return to the Gothic. The generation of artists after Masaccio had to go back to artistic forms which had been employed before his time and were still used during his brief period of creation. For the classic art of Masaccio had hardly been more than an intermezzo, an isolated phenomenon seen from the point of view of his immediate contemporaries. It is, however, no longer the Gothic line, which merely shows the extreme boundary of the object depicted. In the lineality of Fra Filippo Lippi we have already implied the new tendency of the Quattrocento: a realistic intention, a new feeling for corporeal plasticity and for space.

Fra Filippo's change of style from the unequal early works to the clear imprint of his individual forms in the works of 1437 finds its explanation in the general evolution of Florentine painting under the impact of international artistic development. During his several years' absence from Florence many important new works of art came into being, which he had to take into account on his return. Donatello had adopted a new style when he came back from Rome. It is possible to trace almost from picture to picture in the beginning of the 40's the fluctuations of Donatello's influence upon Filippo. Uccello had by now evolved his perspective system, and we can follow out the impressions of this master already in the Madonna at Corneto Tarquinia, and later in the grandiose Annunciation at S. Lorenzo. From North Italy the *frate* seems to have received hardly anything. Mr. Berenson has reasonably suggested that his love for polychrome architecture may have had a North Italian origin.

With much acumen Prof. G. Fiocco¹⁹ has undertaken the task of indicating Lippi's part in the evolution of Paduan painting. Now that we have some conception of Lippi's production in a period antecedent to his North Italian journey, his importance in regard to the Paduan school appears in a new light. A picture in the Museum of Altenburg with a representation of the Marriage of St. Catherine (Fig. 2) may serve as an important link in the chain of development. It was first given by Dr. Schmarsow²⁰ and then by Prof. Fiocco to Ansino da Forlì, by Mr. Berenson²¹ it was ascribed to Domenico Morone, and by Prof. Longhi²² to the Florentine school and the following of Masaccio. This fine but unfortunately extremely poorly preserved painting shows at first glance very evident relation to the art of Fra Filippo. Above all, the idyllic conception of the sacred scene with its genrelike detail recalls the work of the *frate*. The still sensitive use of perspective, the peculiarly rapid rise of the ground plane in the forepart of the picture, the treatment of the light and shadow effects,

19. G. Fiocco, *L'arte di Andrea Mantegna*, Bologna, 1927, pp. 102 ff.

20. Schmarsow, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1897, ii, pp. 178 ff.

21. B. Berenson, *Three Essays of Method*, Oxford, 1927, p. 62.

22. R. Longhi, in *Vita Artistica*, I (1926), pp. 136 f.

and the coloristic refinement are all distinctive traits of Lippi's art. The motif of the bench with the sunlight streaming over it recurs very similarly in the pictorially treated steps of the Empoli picture. Also the representation of the plant world in the foreground is entirely in Lippi's taste. Does not the Masacciesque profile of the Madonna here recall somewhat the St. Bernard at Empoli, and the Joseph here the St. Peter there, or, again, the saints in the Duveen picture? The putti also with their festoons, identical in the motive, with those on the walls of the Eremitani frescoes, return in the Duveen Madonna. And the Renaissance architecture in the classical style of Brunelleschi demonstrates a Florentine derivation. (In the Duveen picture the niche formation may have been modeled upon Masaccio's now vanished frescoes in the Carmine).

If one turns to Ansino's signed work in the Eremitani Chapel, to the Preaching of Christopher, a complete contrast to the Altenburg panel is at once evident. With the exception of the putti and their festoons, there is a total lack of Mantegnesque elements in the latter, so very obvious in the work of Ansino. Cannot the problem afforded by the Altenburg panel, with its mixture of Paduan and Florentine elements, be explained by the hypothesis that we have here a work of Lippi executed in his Paduan period? The very poor condition of the picture²³ renders a definite answer extremely difficult. But a thorough cleaning might make it possible to decide whether we have to do with an authentic work of the young Masacciesque Lippi or with the work of a North Italian painter under the influence of the Florentine visitor.

This but recently recognized earliest phase of Lippi's evolution helps us not only to appraise the work of the *frate* after the death of Masaccio, but also to obtain a clearer judgment upon the development of Florentine painting in the 30's.²⁴ In the intensely creative decade certain forms came into use which remained dominant throughout the Quattrocento down to Verrocchio. In these years fall the most epoch-making productions of Fra Filippo, of Uccello, and of Fra Angelico, as well as the beginnings of Domenico Veneziano and of Andrea del Castagno. Everyone among these artists was confronted with a new and different problem, which the new epoch put before him. Each systematically perfected one or several of the elements which had been formerly brought together by Masaccio, this inspired visionary, into one indivisible unity. All the artists of this period, however, pursue the same way of development: first, the elaboration of the material taken over from Masaccio, then the transformation of the forms which had served already before Masaccio, and, finally, the formation of an individual style. The struggle to achieve a new corporeal plasticity, and an objective pictorial space manifests itself first in forms powerfully overdone, which testify to the boisterous forces of the younger generation. And then from about 1440 onwards, with the complete mastery of the new forms and with their clear, systematic application, the new attitude of classic calm is attained.

23. Apart from the fact that the color effect of the picture is actually much too dark, the upper corners are much repainted so that the original disposition of the architecture is not clear.

24. Clearly dependent on Lippi's works of this epoch are also, for instance, the pictures of the so-called Virgil Master, of the following of Pesellino.

THE RESTORATION OF HISTORICAL MONUMENTS IN CATALONIA. By Walter Muir Whitehill.

The Catalan national revival of the second half of the nineteenth century brought with it a corresponding and natural enthusiasm for the historical monuments of Catalonia. This enthusiasm led to restoration, and, unhappily, nineteenth century restoration in Catalonia like nineteenth century restoration elsewhere made up in thoroughness for what it lacked in discretion. Patriotic individuals sighed for the lost architectural monuments of their country, and architects, equally patriotic, made complete new buildings rise from heaps of ruins. The monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll is a case in point. The church of Ripoll,¹ consecrated in 1032, was not only the most ambitious architectural product of the eleventh century in Catalonia but also a monument intimately connected with the mediaeval history of the country. On August 9, 1835, during the first Carlist war, it was sacked and burned by a mob, and after the dispersion of the monks it rapidly fell into complete ruin. Fifty years later only the transepts, the apses, the lower part of the nave walls and one of the towers were still standing. On the initiative of Dr. José Morgades y Gili, Bishop of Vich, a restoration was begun on March 21, 1886, by the architect Elies Rogent, and completed with the reconsecration of the church on July 1, 1893. Although Rogent followed the original lines conscientiously wherever he could, the advanced state of ruin left many details of the superstructure in doubt, and, as there had been some rebuilding after an earthquake in 1428 and a considerable amount of neo-classical reconstruction between 1826 and 1830, he was forced to invent a vaulting system and many other elements. The Ripoll church is, therefore, a mediaeval building seen through the eyes of a nineteenth century architect. It is a shrine for the whole of Catalonia, and a tribute to the devotion of the Bishop of Vich (who is buried in the nave) and his architect, but it is a nineteenth and not an eleventh century monastic church.

The monastery of Saint-Martin-du-Canigou,² another monument intimately connected with the mediaeval history of Catalonia, fell into ruins after the French Revolution, and was restored within the present century by the devotion and sacrifices of the late Bishop of Perpignan, Monseigneur de Carsalade du Pont. As in the case of Ripoll, the object of the restoration was the achievement of a complete and unified building, rather than the preservation and consolidation of the ruins of the original church, and the student of Romanesque architecture today will find the lithographs of Saint-Martin-du-Canigou in Baron Taylor's *Voyages pittoresques* more useful than the restored building itself.

Santa Maria de Ripoll and Saint-Martin-du-Canigou are two of the most significant Romanesque churches in Catalonia, yet both have suffered from over-zealous restoration under admirably intentioned private direction. It is, therefore, particularly gratifying that in recent years a considerable amount of discreet and intelligent restoration has been carried out in Catalonia by governmental agency.

1. Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Antoni de Falguera, and J. Goday i Casals, *L'Arquitectura Romànica a Catalunya*, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1909-18, II, 153-62.

2. *Idid.*, II, 127-30.



FIG. 1—*Sant Feliu de Guixols, Parish Church: Mozarabic
“Porta Ferrada” in 1931 Hidden by Modern Constructions*

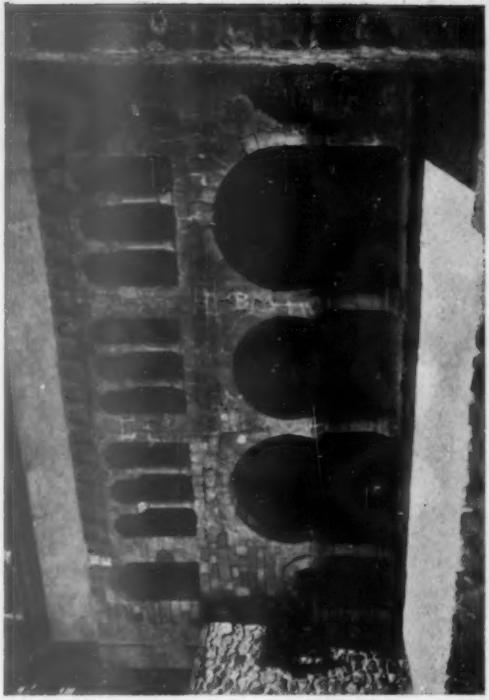


FIG. 2—*Sant Feliu de Guixols, Parish Church: Mozarabic
“Porta Ferrada” in 1933 after Restoration*

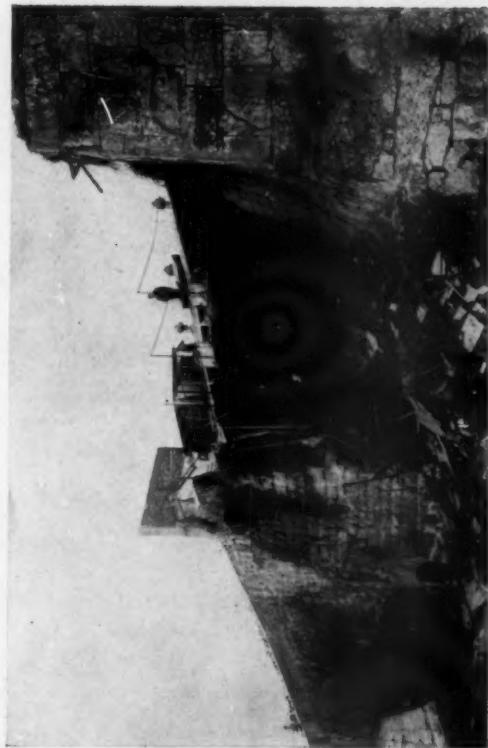


FIG. 3—*Tarragona, Ibero-Roman City Wall:
Section which Collapsed in 1931*



FIG. 4—*Tarragona, Ibero-Roman City Wall:
Same Section in 1933 after Restoration, with Shelter to
Preserve a Specimen of Original Filling of the Wall*



FIG. 5—*San Cugat del Vallés, Foundations of Visigothic Apse Adossed to Early Christian Basilica: Detail Showing Construction of Masonry*



FIG. 6—*San Cugat del Vallés: Roman Christian Tombs*



FIG. 7—*San Cugat del Vallés: Visigothic Decorative Fragment*



FIG. 8—*San Cugat del Vallés: Roman Milestone*

In 1915 the Deputacion of Barcelona, which with the similar bodies of the provinces of Gerona, Lérida, and Tarragona then formed the Mancomunidad de Cataluña, created the services of Investigaciones Arqueologicas and of Conservación y Catalogación de Monumentos, for the study, cataloguing, and preservation of historical monuments in Catalonia. These services, constituted at the request of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, were placed in charge of Don Jeronimo Martorell,³ who has, in addition, since 1928 held the appointment of Government Architect for Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearic Islands from the national Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts. A part of Sr. Martorell's work has consisted of assembling a large and useful collection of photographs, plans, and architectural drawings of Catalan architecture, which is housed in the same building in Barcelona as the Biblioteca de Catalunya and the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, but perhaps the most valuable part of his activity has been in the conservation of buildings threatened by destruction. Throughout this practical side of the work of the Servicio de Conservación y Catalogación de Monumentos Sr. Martorell has avoided the temptation of attempting to restore buildings to their hypothetical original state, and has frankly repaired them with such simple materials as would ensure their structural stability, while preserving as far as possible their monumental character. Unlike his nineteenth century predecessors, Sr. Martorell has realized clearly that the job of the true restorer of historical monuments is to repair what remains rather than to reconstruct what might once have been.⁴ By this sort of preventive structural consolidation a considerable number of monuments have been preserved at relatively small expense, and in many cases they have been adapted to practical modern uses, so that their future is assured. Wherever possible, local interest has been enlisted to eliminate the danger of arbitrary destruction by private owners or town councils suffering from ill-judged attacks of modernity.

From the beginning of the work of the Servicio de Conservación y Catalogación de Monumentos there have been many instances in which historical monuments have been saved from this particular danger. At Centelles, for example, the townspeople for reasons of convenience started to pull down a fourteenth century gate tower, which was a part of the original fortifications of the place. The demolition was checked, the tower repaired, and the town council induced to hold its sessions in the room above the gate, which had been used for that very purpose in the late Middle Ages. A similar case occurred at Torroella de Montgri, where the fourteenth century Torre de Santa Catalina—a gateway with two vaulted chambers above it—was condemned by the town council because the narrowness of its arch impeded entrance to the town; in this case the Servicio was able to save the tower by making a wide opening for traffic in the walls close by. Similarly, the ruins of the twelfth century walls and tower (with thirteenth

and fifteenth century additions) of the castle of La Geltrú in the center of the town of Villanueva de Geltrú, which were threatened with destruction, were saved and put in order, so that they add to the amenities of the town, while the fourteenth century fortifications of the towns of Montblanch and Tossa have been consolidated and strengthened. The hospital at Lérida, a notable example of fifteenth-sixteenth century Catalan civil architecture, built around a central arcaded court, was about to be destroyed in the hope of getting larger revenues from the site, but a plan for its repair and adaptation for educational purposes was put forward by the Servicio and accepted. In the center of Barcelona the guild house of the Gremio de Arte Mayor de la Seda with a fine eighteenth century façade, which had been threatened by the cutting through of new streets, was repaired and adapted for modern use, and is now the chief architectural ornament of the new Via Layetana.

Aside from the restoration and adaptation of public buildings, the Servicio de Conservación y Catalogación de Monumentos has been responsible for the preservation, and in some cases the discovery, of buildings and objects of purely archaeological interest. At Fontescaldes an Iberian pottery kiln was discovered, and walls and a roof were built to safeguard it. The vaults of the tenth century Mozarabic church of Olerola and the fourteenth century timber roof (carried on transverse arches) of the church of San Juan in Villafranca del Panadés have been consolidated and strengthened, while the fourteenth century octagonal Gothic ciborium of Vallbona de las Monjas has been rebuilt and reinforced by an iron truss concealed in the construction. The walls and roofs of the three churches of San Pedro, San Miguel, and Santa Maria at Terrassa, built upon the site of the Visigothic cathedral of Egara, have been repaired and strengthened, and the ground level, which had risen considerably in the course of centuries, lowered so as to show off the buildings in their proper proportion. At San Juan de las Abadesas the trefoil apse of the church of San Pablo was about to be hidden by new buildings, but thanks to a revision of the town plan proposed by the Servicio a square has been cleared behind the church so that the building remains unobscured, while at San Feliu de Guixols the late tenth century Mozarabic portico of the parish church, known as the Porta Ferrada,⁵ which was formerly hidden by a mass of insignificant buildings, has now been uncovered⁶ (Figs. 1, 2).

With the establishment of the Second Republic and the constitution of the autonomous Generalidad de Cataluña in 1931, the activity of the Servicio de Conservación y Catalogación de Monumentos increased considerably, as did the importance of its undertakings. At the former monastery of San Cugat del Vallés,⁷ near Barcelona, a piece of emergency restoration led to archaeological discoveries of some consequence. According to tradition, the monastic buildings were built upon the site of the Castrum

3. I am indebted to Sr. Martorell for the photographs of buildings restored by the Servicio de Conservación y Catalogación de Monumentos which illustrate this article.

4. Cf. Jeronimo Martorell, *El Patrimonio Artístico Nacional: Conferencia dada en el Ateneo de Madrid el 16 enero 1919*, Madrid, 1919, reprinted from *Arquitectura*, June, 1919.

5. Puig i Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, I, 383-7.

6. The restoration of the Porta Ferrada was carried out by the Servicio de Conservación y Catalogación de Monumentos with the coöperation of the private society known as the Amics de l'Art Vell.

7. Puig i Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, III, 181-6, 253-74.

Octavianum, where a number of Christians had suffered martyrdom. The church, begun in the eleventh century, was finished in the fourteenth century, while the monastery dependencies adjoin a twelfth century cloister,⁸ with an upper gallery added during the reign of Philip II. The weight of the upper galleries had been gradually pushing the Romanesque cloister out of plumb, and by 1932 the north gallery had so far deviated from perpendicular that its collapse seemed imminent. Immediate strengthening of the foundations was essential, and this work was taken in hand by the Servicio, with the co-operation of the national Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades. In the course of this structural consolidation a good amount of digging was necessary, during which parts of a wall considerably older than the cloister itself were discovered. This led to further excavation for its own sake, and eventually the whole area of the cloister garth and the region around the monastic buildings were explored with surprising and unexpected results. Foundations of a fourth century Christian basilica, to which in the Visigothic period an apse of horseshoe plan (Fig. 5) had been added, were uncovered. It was further discovered that a ninth century monastery, apparently destroyed during Almanzor's invasion, had existed upon the spot, and that there had been an eleventh century cloister on the site of the present one. A good number of fragments of various periods were turned up including Roman Christian tombs (Fig. 6), odd bits of Visigothic decorative carving (Fig. 7), and part of a Roman milestone (Fig. 8). An account of the excavations, which have established the architectural history of San Cugat del Vallés during the first millennium, will be published in the *Anuari* of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans. The work at San Cugat may justly be claimed as of primary importance, for not only has a considerable body of archaeological fact come to light, but the most beautiful of Catalan Romanesque cloisters has been saved from collapse and ruin.

The walls of Tarragona,⁹ unique in Spain, seem most probably to have been begun in the fifth century B. C. by the Iberian natives of the country working under Greek direction. The Romans superimposed their work upon the Iberian beginnings, and even replaced these entirely at some points. The total perimeter of the existing walls measures some 1120 meters, 600 of which are protected from below by seventeenth century fortification in the style of Vauban. By itself the Iberian work reaches a height of 7 meters, and, when combined with the Roman superstructure, 12 meters. The stones vary in weight, those most frequently found being blocks of 5 or 6 tons, many, however, weighing between 7 and 11, a few 18, and one or two being as heavy as 22 tons. The character of this gigantic wall is best appreciated from the ramparts of the seventeenth century fortification, but in recent years this area has been difficult of access, overgrown with nettles and of doubtful structural safety. In 1931 a section of the Ibero-Roman wall collapsed (Fig. 3), and it became apparent that other sections had been endangered by the infiltration of drainage from the modern city and would soon be in a similar situation unless they

were reinforced and properly drained. Don Ricardo de Orueta, at that time national Director-General of Fine Arts, and the Junta del Patronato del Tesoro Artístico-nacional joined forces with the Catalan Servicio de Conservación y Catalogación de Monumentos for the restoration and consolidation of the Tarragona walls. The section which had collapsed was rebuilt (Fig. 4), with a simple modern shelter to protect a specimen of the original interior filling of the walls, the drainage difficulties were remedied, the seventeenth century lower fortifications were strengthened and their ramparts thoroughly cleaned and planted with shrubbery and cypress trees. Architectural fragments of various periods which have been disposed along the ramparts combine with the landscaping to make the walk below the Ibero-Roman walls an agreeable as well as a safe and convenient one.

Another monument in crying need of repair was the abandoned monastic church of San Pedro de Roda,¹⁰ on the easternmost spur of the Pyrenees, close to the Mediterranean, high above the fishing village of Puerto de la Selva. In 982 King Lothaire confirmed the privileges of a monastery which had been in existence on the spot since 880. Although there is an extant act of consecration of 1022, the church was undoubtedly built after that date, in spite of the archaism of some of its constructive and decorative features, such as the horseshoe arch and the debased Corinthian capitals which show Cordovan origin. The building, largely of the twelfth century, is of three aisles, with transepts, an elongated choir with converging walls and an ambulatory. Its most striking internal feature is the double order of the nave (Fig. 9). The monastery was abandoned in 1798, and thenceforth was left open to the mountain storms and the depredations of neighbouring villagers. In 1932 the Servicio de Conservación y Catalogación de Monumentos began repairs in the hope of saving what was left of the building. Happily, unlike the restorations of Santa María de Ripoll and Saint-Martin-du-Canigou, the work was confined to the strengthening and consolidation of what remained, with no attempt to reconstruct on hypothetical lines what had been destroyed. Rubbish was cleared out of the church and the cloister—in the course of which a crypt was discovered—windows were fitted, a solid tile roof added to the church to keep water out of the vaults, and simple brick piers and arches built wherever structural reinforcement was necessary (Fig. 10). Such of the monastic buildings as remained were roofed, indiscriminate access to the monastery was prevented by the repairing of exterior walls and gates, and a caretaker has been put in charge. The preservation of San Pedro de Roda is thus assured for many years to come.

Work at Poblet,¹¹ one of the greatest Cistercian houses of Europe, has been actively under way since the formation in 1930 of a Patronato, under the leadership of Don Eduardo Toda y Guel, for many years Spanish Consul General in London. In general, the plan of the monastery follows the Cistercian type. Around the cloister are disposed the church, the chapter house, the kitchen, the refectory, the library (cf. Fig. 13), the dormitories, and the cellars. All this part of the structure is of ashlar, dating from

8. Jurgis Baltrusaitis, *Les Chapiteaux de Sant Cugat del Vallès*, Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1931.

9. Puig i Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, I, 15-22.

10. *Ibid.*, III, 359-64.

11. *Ibid.*, III, 450-4, 471-8, 565-75.

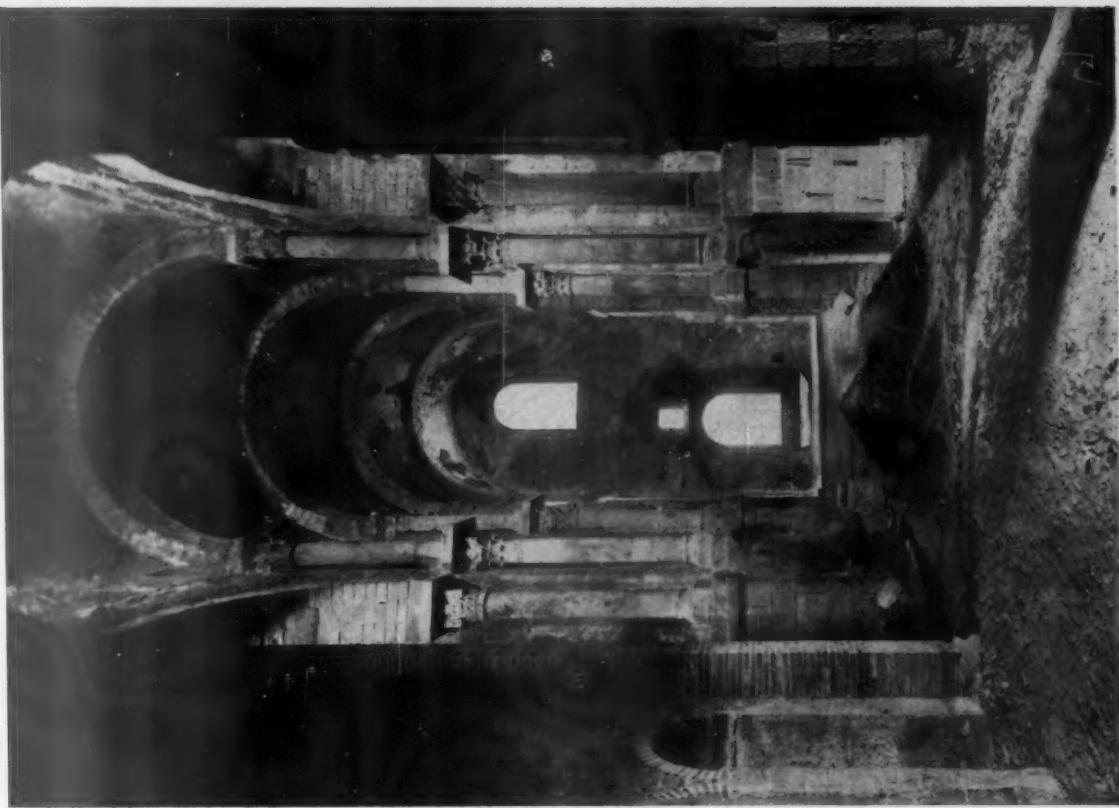


FIG. 10.—*San Pedro de Roda: Nave of Church in 1933 after Works of Repair and Consolidation*



FIG. 9.—*San Pedro de Roda: Nave of Church in 1930*

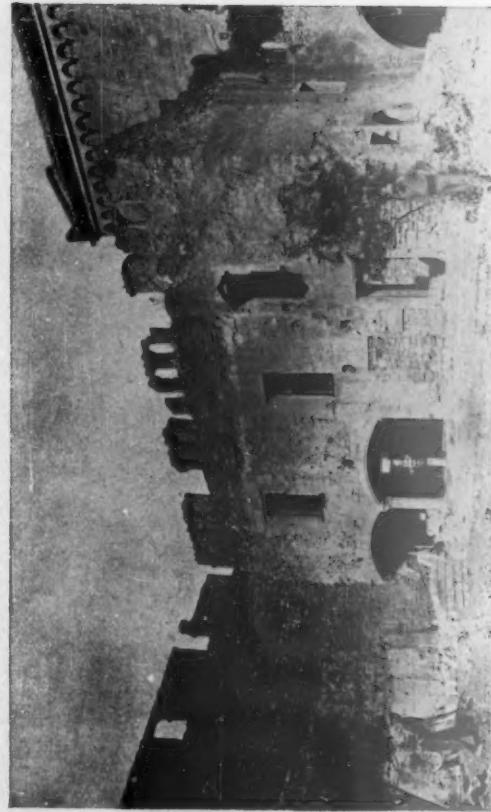


FIG. 11—Monastery of Poblet: XV-XVII Century
House of Novice Master in 1930

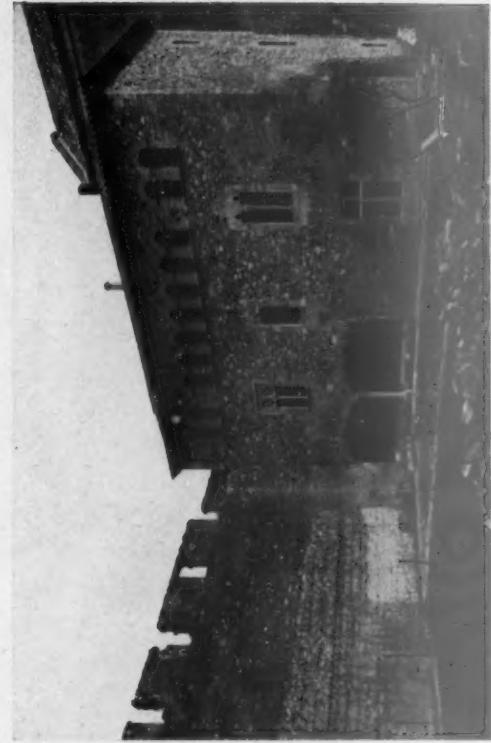


FIG. 12—Monastery of Poblet: XV-XVII Century
House of Novice Master in 1932



FIG. 13—Monastery of Poblet,
Library: Base of one of Columns,
below Level of Present Pavement



FIG. 14—Monastery of Poblet:
Shield of Catalonia,
Found during Restoration



FIG. 15—Monastery of Poblet:
Shield of Infanta Juana, Condessa
de Ampurias, Found during Restoration

the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. A fourteenth century wall enclosing the monastic precincts is punctuated by numerous towers, of which the most conspicuous are the two flanking the Royal Gate. Within this enclosure are the houses of the Novice Master (Figs. 11, 12) and of the aged and infirm monks, the royal apartments, and storehouses.

The nucleus of the monastery was repaired some years ago, but work on the rest of the buildings has only now got under way. Poblet was a vast monastic city, and, as it has been abandoned since the excommunication of 1835, there is much still to be accomplished. The clearing away of rubbish within the walls alone has been a considerable task, but in the course of it fragments of sculpture (Figs. 14, 15) and objects of all kinds and dates have come to light, which are being preserved in a museum on the premises. The Patronato, working in conjunction with the Servicio de Conservación y Catalogación de Monumentos, has restored the water system of the monastery, so that the fountain of the cloister lavabo plays once again and gardens become a possibility. Innumerable roofs have been repaired and windows glazed, so that the chief buildings are now weather-proof. Other minor buildings have been rehabilitated for practical purposes, such as the Novice Master's house (Figs. 11, 12), which has been put in order for the accommodation of the members of the Patronato de Poblet, and which is frequently occupied by the President, Sr. Toda, who now spends much of his time on the spot overseeing the restoration that is in progress. Although the work at Poblet has been done with a somewhat freer hand than in most of the buildings hitherto mentioned, nevertheless the principle of the Servicio de Conservación y Catalogación de Monumentos of repairing what remains rather than reconstructing what might once have been has been adhered to.

It is possible to say today that historical monuments in Catalonia are being cared for intelligently and well; that essential structural repairs are being carried out discreetly without detracting from the archaeological value of the buildings in question. The two outstanding tasks which remain are the restoration of the Gothic cathedral of Lérida and of the Romanesque church of San Vicente de Cardona, both of which were in the eighteenth century converted into barracks and sadly mutilated. However, plans are under way for the salvaging of both monuments, and these future works will only add to the already distinguished list of accomplishments which the Catalan Servicio de Conservación y Catalogación de Monumentos has thus far, with both national and local coöperation, achieved.

SHAPES AND NAMES OF ATHENIAN VASES. By Gisela M. A. Richter and Marjorie J. Milne. xxiii, 32 pp.; 191 numbered ills. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1935. \$1.50.

In 1924 Miss Richter published a pamphlet, *Shapes of Greek Vases*. Its title was misleading, since it comprised only Attic shapes; and it was unpretentious, containing 96 illustrations and almost no text; but it was convenient and proved widely useful. The new book is small enough to be almost as handy as the former one, and contains a great deal more.

The vases illustrated are excellently chosen; only

the phiale is unrepresentative. It is a testimony to the extent of the Metropolitan's collection and to the care employed in assembling it that only about forty pieces from other museums had to be included. Within the boundaries of the larger classes (amphora, krater, etc.) subvarieties are distinguished and clearly illustrated, and the changes in form and proportion in successive periods are illustrated to some extent. Nearly all the pieces naturally belong to the sixth and fifth centuries, but a few from the fourth are included. There are none from the seventh; from this and from the limitation to Attic ware it results that the origin and early history of most forms are undisclosed. The numbered illustrations are supplemented by a page of drawings of handles, lips, and bases, and by a number of figures in the text; these are vase paintings in which forms are shown.

The best collection of shapes previously available was in Lau's old book, *Die Griechischen Vasen* (1877). It will still be useful: its illustrations, being drawings instead of photographs and larger than Miss Richter's, make many details clearer, and its sectional drawings are particularly valuable. But Miss Richter's repertory of forms is much richer than Lau's, and her photographs are far superior for the aesthetic enjoyment of these ceramic masterpieces.

Beazley's *Attische Vasenmaler* contains a list of shapes which probably will remain the standard for scholarly use, though Miss Richter's system, more conveniently accessible and fully illustrated, will doubtless attain some currency. In large part the two naturally coincide; Miss Richter will be applauded in one deviation, the use of "kylix" instead of "cup." However, to take one example, Beazley lists ten kinds of oinochoe, Miss Richter only five. This is reasonable enough in view of the more popular character of her book; and no one will cavil at the disappearance of "oinochoe 8," which is entered far more appropriately as a cup or mug. But the five types that remain are numbered differently from Beazley's, his no. 2 being Miss Richter's no. 5. It would have been decidedly better frankly to use Beazley's system as a basis and to adopt his numbers for the types that are listed. And certainly, in a book like this, it is desirable to use names instead of numbers wherever possible; yet an amphora of Panathenaic shape appears as Amphora IIc, and a Nolan amphora under Amphora IIa. To be sure, the established terms are not altogether omitted, but the reader is led to notice chiefly numbers, and numbers that appear to be a valueless addition to his mental stock.

In the text there is some description of forms, where the subclasses render it necessary. Also there are discussions, written chiefly by Miss Milne, of the ancient vase names principally used by archaeologists, with the evidence that justifies or does not justify their application. Conclusions are drawn cautiously. The student will find these discussions convenient, and certainly sound in general, but the articles in Pauly-Wissowa and Daremberg-Saglio will usually bring something additional. Certain terms in common use, such as *guttus* and *prochoos*, are not discussed at all. "Hackl, *Münchener archäologische Studien*" is a citation likely to lead somebody to a vain search in a card catalogue; it should be Hackl in *Münchener archäologische Studien dem Andenken Furtwänglers gewidmet*." Besides, the graffito in question is more recently published in *CVA*, Copenhagen, National

Museum, fasc. 4, p. 116. A kalathos is taken to be a kind of krater, and it is remarked that "the spout would be stopped up until the wine was drawn." What would be the use of a spout if the wine could be dipped from the top? It appears likely that the kalathos was designed to contain a psykter; its shape would be ideally appropriate, and the spout would permit the removal of warmed water with a minimum of inconvenience. It remains true that in the few instances where a psykter is shown inside another vessel, the other vessel is always a calyx krater. To the short list of examples I can add one: the drawing on a part of a kylix by Oltos at the University of Chicago; for other fragments of the same kylix, see Beazley, *Campana Fragments*, pl. 1, no. 20. Under *lekythos* and *plemochoe* some more or less unfamiliar matter is found.

The bibliography is distinctly usable, though it seems unnecessarily prolonged. Its first entry is Liddell and Scott's Greek dictionary; it includes other works of general character and also individual articles in Pauly-Wissowa and Daremberg-Saglio, with full title given at each occurrence. If ancient authors were to be listed, it would have been worth while to mention editions. Under *askos*, Waldhauer, *Arch. Anz.*, 1929, 235 ff., should be cited; under *psykter*, Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, no. 445.

On a page between title and text there appears a quotation from Chrysippus. I do not easily find it exactly as it is given, but there are several close approximations among the fragments of Chrysippus. The Greekless reader will wonder whether some subtlety lurks in the phrase "proportionate distribution of parts." Chrysippus says simply "proportion of parts," or, if that is not perfectly clear English, "relative proportions of parts." In another passage he says that beauty consists of "the relative proportions of parts to one another and to the whole." The additional phrase appears to deserve quotation, if one quotes Chrysippus at all. In all his mentions of *καλλος* he speaks very definitely of the beauty of the human body or of the soul.

Richter-Milne will eliminate a lecture on shapes from numerous courses in Greek vases; it will constitute a point of departure for the historical study of forms; and for the wider public its ordered presentation will make accessible and intelligible a rich store of beauty still inadequately recognized.

FRANKLIN P. JOHNSON

FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO MARTINI OF SIENA. By Selwyn Brinton. Vol. I, 119 pp., 27 ills.; Vol. II, 111 pp., 26 ills. London, Besant & Co., 1934, 1935.

Mr. Brinton's two volumes on Francesco di Giorgio give the Sienese artist the first full-length recent treatment he has received. The earlier biographies of Promis and Pantanelli were written before documentary study at Siena and elsewhere had in a measure cleared up Francesco's complicated chronology, and before modern scholarship had reclaimed for him the important place he occupied as a civil architect and a sculptor, though they of course fully emphasized him as painter, military engineer, and author of an interesting book on architecture. The literature concerning him is very extensive, but consists almost entirely of the discussion of individual

monuments, with little attempt at establishing the relationship of one with another, except in a very general way. As Francesco's work is by no means static in style, as it differed greatly in various media, and as he was significantly influenced by a variety of artists in Siena, Florence, and Umbria, he has always remained something of a puzzle. Schubring's chapter about him in *Die Plastik Sienas im Quattrocento* (1907) really introduced him to modern scholars, and since then he has been written about widely but hardly definitively. McComb, in a valuable article in *Art Studies* for 1924, was the first to attempt a synthesis of the many sides of his rich career, but this study is hardly exhaustive, and is fundamentally marred by the rejection of the four reliefs in Venice, Perugia, London, and New York which are generally used as a basis for the study of his sculpture. Consequently it was time for such a book as Mr. Brinton's.

The first volume, after a preliminary chapter characterizing Siena as a city, is devoted to Francesco's paintings, his work as military architect and engineer, and his manuscripts—the treatise on architecture and records of travel. A list of his paintings, miniatures, and drawings is appended. Volume two treats of his civil architecture and sculpture, and includes similar lists. Throughout his book the author shows a vivid first-hand experience of the works, an enthusiasm and enjoyment in them that all too rarely find expression in such discussions, and a wide acquaintance with scholars in Italy and England who have apparently taken the deepest personal interest in his work. Mr. Brinton's many books have always shown a sensitive understanding of the Italian language and spirit, and one of the outstanding qualities of his work is the fine literary standard of his translations of documents, letters, and descriptions. He expresses the hope that at some not distant date Francesco's great treatise on architecture may be put into English. One would welcome such a work from the author of the present volume. He speaks of his study as "a wonderful voyage of ever fresh delight and discovery" (II, p. 100), and the undoubted charm of the book results from the freshness and pleasure of such an attitude.

The discussion of the *Trattato d'architettura*, of which manuscripts exist in Turin and Florence, and which was published by Promis in 1841, and the twenty sheets in the Uffizi collection of drawings known as the *Taccuino del viaggio* is the best part of the book, though it contains no mention of Mancini's critical study of these manuscripts in his notes to Vasari. An admirable English summary of the treatise is given, nine plates of interesting pages from the Turin codex are reproduced, and notes on Francesco's knowledge of Roman buildings suggest a fascinating field of further research. The author himself says, "There is a mass of information in these drawings for anyone who could work them out carefully in connection with classic buildings and their still existing remains" (I, p. 47). Not all readers will accept the large number of buildings which it is now the fashion to give to Francesco, but the discussion of his actual architecture, in which the author generally follows Venturi's account in his *Storia*, VIII, 1, which rehabilitated Francesco's importance as a civil architect, is briefly and clearly presented.

Yet the book is marred by serious faults. Chief among these is the lack of any chronological clarity,

of any sense of development from one stage to another. A vast number of documents are preserved relating to Francesco di Giorgio—all too few, to be sure, having anything to do with his artistic activities—and it is possible to map out pretty completely the journeys and expeditions which led him from Urbino and Milan to Rome and Naples in his capacity as an authority on engineering and military architecture. But no attempt has yet been seriously made to fit all of the works of art which have been attributed to him into this framework. Generally Francesco's work in each medium—painting, miniature, sculpture, architecture—has been considered separately, and this in the main is Mr. Brinton's method, though he does not follow it very logically, as he interrupts himself at more than one place to treat of matter which hardly seems appropriate at the point in his narrative where it appears. Thus, in the chapter called "War in Tuscany," dealing with Francesco's services under Federigo da Montefeltre in the late 1470's and 80's, he suddenly breaks off to discuss the Biccherna and Gabella bookcovers which he considers Francesco to have made (though it is difficult to accept more than one of the six that he mentions as Francesco's work) from 1460 on, works which he has not mentioned in the chapter on paintings. It is typical of this peculiar lack of order that the very last works he discusses at the end of the second volume are the two manuscript illuminations at the Osservanza, dated works of 1463 and 1466, which make a strange note upon which to conclude a study of an artist who lived more than thirty-five years after those dates. As a result, in spite of a number of interesting observations concerning a great many works, Francesco is still, as an artist, quite as confusing as he was before. This lack of a clear chronological sense allows the author to make such highly questionable statements as this: "As a matter of fact, we do not find any panels for church or convent to come from Francesco Martini after he definitely quitted Siena and his workshop in that city" (II, p. 50). But is it possible to date the great S. Domenico Nativity before 1477, when Francesco was in the service of the Duke of Urbino? Mr. Brinton makes no attempt to place this picture at any definite point in Francesco's career, but certainly it would seem to be much later than the Siena Gallery pictures. Schubring thought it was painted as late as 1493. And the Uffizi Benedict predella, generally given to Neroccio and Francesco working in collaboration, though almost universally considered to date before 1475, when the partnership of these two artists was broken, may not improbably be later. Elements in the landscape and architecture seem to fit into a somewhat later phase of Francesco's career, and make further study of it necessary. Likewise, the strange Stripping of Christ, with its strongly Umbrian background, has been generally assumed to be a late work. Degenhart's recent article on the dating of Francesco's drawings, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1935, pp. 103-126, uses it and the Duomo angels of 1497 as the two works around which he groups Francesco's last period as a draughtsman. Certainly, any book on the artist should consider these and similar questions very carefully.

Another difficulty with the book is the result of the author's attitude toward and knowledge of what

other scholars have written on the same subject—a too uncritical acceptance of some opinions, and an entire neglect of others. Mr. Brinton is an enthusiastic disciple of Venturi, and has accepted without question the Italian scholar's attributions to Francesco di Giorgio of a large number of works of sculpture which in the opinion of the present reviewer need much more careful consideration than they here receive. The portrait reliefs in Urbino, Pesaro, Florence, and Milan, and the busts in Berlin, London, and Paris, given by Venturi to Francesco, are not only utterly unlike any of the works reasonably given to the artist, but are without precedent in all Sienese sculpture. Surely they are by Florentine or local Urbino sculptors working under the influence of Verrocchio and Desiderio. Not only does Mr. Brinton follow unhesitatingly these ascriptions, but he is so eager to claim for Francesco any work that has been advanced as his, that he has not acquainted himself, apparently, with the frequent recantations and changes of opinion which the Francesco enthusiasts have so often made—an important point, when we remember that Bode changed from Verrocchio to Leonardo, and Venturi from Verrocchio to Bertoldo to Francesco in their discussions of the four principal reliefs which have formed the nucleus of the whole problem of his sculpture, and that Berenson successively attributed the Preaching of S. Bernardino to Vecchietta, Francesco, and Neroccio. Mr. Brinton seemingly knows only Schubring's first enthusiastic account in his *Plastik Sienas* of 1907, and is not aware that a number of opinions there expressed (which he cites as confirmation of his own views) were modified by the author in later treatments. The Osservanza Pietà, which Brinton, quoting the 1907 Schubring, gives to Francesco di Giorgio, was rightly returned by the German scholar to Cozzarelli in an article in *Monatshefte für Kunsthissenschaft* in 1916, and in his handbook in 1919. Brinton accepts, largely on Schubring's opinion of 1907, the Pontano bust in Genoa, which in 1916 Schubring far more reasonably declared to be by Adriano Fiorentino. Likewise, he makes no mention in discussing the S. Spirito Magdalen, which he gives to Francesco, that de Nicola, in his *Arte inedita in Siena*, showed rather definitely that it is the work of Ambrogio della Robbia in 1504. Throughout the book, he invariably credits William Heywood with the opinions actually expressed by Lucy Olcott in the standard guide they wrote in collaboration. These examples, which might be multiplied, indicate the caution with which one must regard Mr. Brinton's use of other scholar's opinions in giving authority to his own attributions.

There are mistakes in statement regarding actual works, as well as in the handling of the literature. Such a sentence as the following is wrong in nearly every detail: "The earlier tomb in marble, of which we have a record, by Francesco Martini for the parents of the Piccolomini Pope, Pius II, within S. Francesco at Siena, seems to have disappeared without a trace" (II, p. 41). I do not know what record Mr. Brinton refers to; I have found it impossible to trace Francesco's name in connection with this work to any responsible source, but it is by no means totally destroyed. Every tourist to Siena can see the two big portrait busts in their shell niches with a long inscription in the choir of the church; their style does

not in the least suggest Francesco, and their authorship remains only one of the many puzzles in connection with Sienese sculpture.

One cannot criticize Mr. Brinton's lists in detail, for he does not "guarantee the attribution." But it is legitimate to say that such lists would be more useful if they were either more selective, indicating such works as a careful student of the Sienese artist could accept, or if they were frankly registers of everything that has been attributed to him. There are numerous surprising omissions. Among the works of sculpture which in recent years have been advanced as Francesco's work, we find no mention of the bronze plaque in Berlin with a mythological scene which Hartlaub first discussed in relation to the other reliefs; of the Drunken Bacchus in Vienna, a statuette which would lead to some statement about related works in Berlin and London which have recently been claimed for Francesco; of the wooden St. Christopher in the Louvre which has been given to both Francesco and his master, Vecchietta, and is probably by neither; of the celebrated Dante bust in Naples which Schubring, later than the 1907 account which seems to have been the only one used in preparing these lists, believed was by our artist. There is nothing said about the frieze of military subjects at Urbino for which Francesco very probably made the designs. Some of the most difficult problems in connection with his paintings are entirely avoided: nothing is said of the possible collaboration of Francesco with the Umbrian artists who made the much discussed S. Bernardino panels in Perugia in 1473, a problem about which new opinions and points of view are decidedly in order; and the relationship, if any, of Francesco to the famous architectural perspective panels in Urbino, Baltimore, and Berlin—variously given to Luciano Laurana, school of Piero della Francesca, and Francesco—is not mentioned. It is unfortunate that Mr. Berenson's list does not seem to have been consulted, for it would have added a number of works, like the miniature Nativity in Chiusi which has not otherwise been published in this connection. It is confusing to find the Sts. Peter and John healing a Lame Man, which has been in the Berlin Museum since 1908, listed as "Fuller Maitland Collection." One wishes that the author had taken the opportunity of this book to publish more fully the Virgin and Child in his own possession, which, I believe, is not known to other students, but it remains simply a name.

ALLEN WELLER

CONCERNING BEAUTY. By Frank Jewett Mather, Jr. xiv, 302 pp.; 11 figs.; 8vo. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1935. \$3.

ART AND BEAUTY. By Max Schoen. 230 pp.; 8vo. New York, Macmillan, 1932. \$2.25.

Professor Mather's new book, *Concerning Beauty*, is a contribution to contemporary thought on aesthetics and to the literature of criticism. In the author's own words, his purpose has been to make the book "less a systematization than a thorough ventilation of its theme"—and that it is. His material is mainly the visual arts, with comparisons drawn from his rich experience in the other arts. A theory of correspondences of rhythm is his gift to the grammar of aesthetics. Though not novel, it is valuable as a

suggestion, exalting as an idea, and in line with the theories of present-day idealist-scientists.

The first half of the book is concerned with abstract theoretical material; the second is more largely appreciative criticism. An introductory chapter, entitled *Preliminary Matters*, sketches certain debated contemporary issues, and gives the author's position in regard to each. A second section, called *The Esthetic Transaction*, traces the experience of art from the one who creates through the work of art to the one who appreciates. The third division, *Esthetic Sympathy*, reverses the procedure of the second, following the aesthetic experience from the one who appreciates to the work of art. The fourth is an exposition of the theory of correspondences of rhythm. The fifth adds to the material which has already been written by other authors concerning form in the work of art. The sixth is an analysis of the artist as an individual and as a type, and of the personal creative processes. The seventh is a survey of art lovers: naive, scholarly, professional, mercenary. And the eighth considers miscellaneous controversial issues under the heading *Taste and Varieties of Beauty*.

Mather's approach to the subject of aesthetics is given in his first paragraph when he asks, "Is beauty a property or attribute of certain objects called works of art and as well of certain objects in nature.... is it what is just seen or heard of a thing—its sound, its integument?.... Or is beauty really a quality of a human activity, and thus only indirectly in art and nature?" The first idea he discards. The second he accepts. He considers his study psychological in the broadest sense. To him beauty is an energy which is released both when the artist is creating and when the work of art is being appreciated, an energy which is merely potential after creation unless the work is the object of someone's aesthetic perception.

To illustrate the tenets of his opposition to the purists' formal aesthetic view—that the work of art is completely under the control of the artist and that it is therefore an isolated constant permitting rigid analysis—Mather adduces a wide range of examples: the music of Beethoven as played by the intellectual Kneisel quartette, in contrast to the emotional interpretations of the Flonzaley quartette; the plays of Shakespeare and Molière, inevitably and infinitely varying throughout every performance; the work of Raphael's last six years, for which he merely supplied working drawings and supervision; and all of Rodin's marbles. "The only reality" of the form of the work of art is its effect upon an observer. With that belief Mather accents appreciation as the chief concern of aesthetics.

For material on appreciation he draws from his own experience and from that of others. He draws also from his own experience as a literary artist in order to present and clarify controversial issues concerning creative activity.

In talking of the creation of beauty by man, Western culture has stressed either feeling or judgment. Plato called both creation and appreciation divine madness; Aristotle founded art on reason and judgment; Plotinus, a mean between the two, rested beauty on ecstatic understanding of the Logos. Most artists have held Aristotle's opinion, up until the eccentric modern movements, while most theorists have sided with Plato. The two viewpoints are not mutually exclusive. Mather finds the psychological

basis of creation and of appreciation in "feeling," "thinking," and "willing" inextricably interwoven. To "willing" he gives a slight priority, and makes it the common link between the first two. To him the important thing is that there are different proportions of judgment, feeling, and willing making up each work of art, and giving to it its unique character.

Austere aestheticians, denying to judgment any aesthetic quality, and making it merely auxiliary to feeling, have felt that the sense of beauty must be entirely disinterested. Nietzsche held the contrary opinion, attributing greater value to art in which the passions and ambitions of the individual took part. Mather says that a high degree of disinterestedness is admittedly necessary for aesthetic experience, but that complete disinterestedness is impossible and the demand for it absurd. Many great works of art have been the results of commissions, many deal with the erotic, with morals, with politics—while keeping their aesthetic distance.

In regard to the difference between aesthetic and non-aesthetic pleasures Mather makes no exact distinction, for he believes that ordinary pleasures may tend to become aesthetic as they are sublimated through contemplation and that aesthetic pleasures may tend to become ordinary as the contemplative state weakens. Also, he believes, with John Dewey, that any well-organized and satisfactory experience has an aesthetic tinge, and that the purely aesthetic activity is such only because it reaches out of ourselves toward an object, and is not achieved within ourselves or within the field of our narrowly individual interests. Briefly summarized, the author's personal feeling about aesthetic pleasure is that the experience of beauty takes place at a moment of perfect balance between an excitement and an encompassing serenity; the result of which consummate appreciative activity is *katharsis*.

The first step in the aesthetic transaction is the active artist. The second is the work of art. The third is the active art lover. To explain the transmission of the energy, which is beauty, from the first to the third Mather introduces and applies his theory of the correspondences of rhythm: "However random and disorderly this process [the creative process] may seem, it really follows and obeys a deeper rhythm and order which are those of the artist's bodily and mental activities. And this dynamic rhythm and order pass into the work of art, which, though a sort of symbolism, produces analogous activities of an orderly and rhythmical sort in a fit hearer or beholder." The third step, appreciation, Mather puts on a par with the first for he thinks that the two activities are qualitatively identical although appreciation is quantitatively less.

The aesthetic transaction in relation to nature rather than to a work of art is only two-fold, between the natural appearance and the spectator. In the author's words, "The only difference between experiencing beauty in nature and in art is that in art there has been a purposeful act of creative activity, esthetic sympathy directed towards doing, which we may readily repeat in an analogous activity of appreciation. In beholding nature the individual must be both artist and beholder.... Nature unobserved by man has no inherent beauty at all.... it yields beauty only as transformed and reorganized by man either actually or mentally."

The spectator derives beauty from nature by shaping what he sees into an ordered unity which correlates with his own activities. This feeling oneself into an object of nature or of art has been called "*Einfühlung*." Mather prefers to call it "esthetic sympathy." But he points out that as a complete explanation of the appreciative activity aesthetic sympathy has two drawbacks. First, it is involved in all acts of perception and therefore adds nothing to a specific study. Second, it makes all aesthetic experience rest on self-made illusions. Here, the author suggests that aesthetic activity and its analysis are in entirely different worlds and cannot be spoken of at one time.

As a solution, he presents his own theory that the foundation of aesthetic experience is the perception of rhythms in the work of art which correspond to those within the individual and within the cosmos. This perception may be unconscious or conscious, but to be aesthetic it must be highly charged with emotion. The earliest record of the notion of cosmic vibration, of universal rhythms, can be found in the literature of the ancient Hindus; and only fifty years ago the French Symbolists heralded a similar theory but failed to work it out logically. Mather therefore makes no claim to originality in advancing this theory, although his development and applications of it are relatively new. It offers an explanation for the different tensions and durations of aesthetic experience enjoyed from the various arts, and for the fact that the arts whose forms or rhythms are most familiar to us seem to be most accessible to our understanding and enjoyment. To believe in the theory, the author admits, is an act of faith. There is some evidence for it, little evidence against it, and, as an idea, it may have pragmatic value.

The remainder of the book brings up less theoretical issues. The question of the social type of the artist (Is he seer, exceptional craftsman, or neurotic?) is disregarded because Mather thinks it of no importance to art and aesthetics. Modern art is censured for its distortion of form, for its reception of psychoanalysis, for its pursuit of hollow originality and style, for its repudiation not only of nearby bad traditions but of all traditions. Nevertheless, the work of some artists who so err is not negligible.

The last section, of miscellaneous material, is well held together by Mather's smooth-flowing prose but it can only be summarized in a disjointed fashion. He begins by referring to Santayana who, as a critic of the judicial type and a philosopher, sees a growing tendency for the truth of art and the truth of good living to approximate each other and eventually to become one. In the same vein, Mather says that the truth of the greatest works of art is singularly close to the truth of life. He especially welcomes Santayana's "esthetic moralism" because of the credit it gives to the imitation of nature by art. "The comic" Mather includes in the aesthetic; and his theory in reverse is applied for its explanation: the aesthetic pleasure which we get out of a sudden vision of purposeful incongruity and disorder in art work is a negative tribute to a prevailing universal orderliness. "The ugly" in aesthetics is defined as "the extremely unusual and ill understood, hence intolerable."

In an extensive discussion of the influence of social taste on creative activity contemporary with it, the continuity of taste behind the visual arts of the Renaissance is contrasted with the total lack of any

coherent or directing taste today. With a frankness which is only permissible in a book specialized and far removed from the great American public, the author writes: "In our day it is the democratic unwillingness of the traditionally base people to admit their baseness, and the consequent inferiority of their aesthetic enjoyments, that deprives the various small groups which may be said to represent the good taste of our moment of anything like general authority." Even among the aesthetically intelligent there are sharp divisions of opinion: in Mather's classification, Cortissoz represents the extreme right among art critics and historians, Mather the right center, the late Roger Fry the left center, and Wilenski and Ozenfant the extreme left. Mather has only commiseration for the modern artist's attempt to work amid such confusion and eclecticism.

In conclusion a new chart for classifying the varieties of beauty is presented. It is no better and no worse than similar charts which have been put forward by other aestheticians, and like them it is valueless and harmless.

The entire book is more the work of an appreciative critic than of a judicial one. As an aesthete, Mather incorporates in his broad view of the subject the historians' *Kunstwissenschaft* and the individual aesthete's high evaluation of personal experience. He expresses his opposition to Wilenski's formal aesthetic and to Lipps' purism, his agreement with W. T. Stace and superficially with Santayana (superficial agreement only because Mather is not as profound philosophically), his great debt to Dewey's *Art as Experience*, and (in a footnote) his disapproval of Sheldon Cheney's evaluation of "expressionism" in modern art. It might be remarked also that it is refreshing to find someone who mentions, and even seriously considers, the works and words of American artists.

Interesting in contrast to Mather's opus is a 1932 publication, *Art and Beauty*, by Max Schoen. Although the two titles are similar the supporting works are completely dissimilar: in points of view, in method, in style. Mather has the point of view of an artist, of an arch appreciator, of a sage in regard to art history. He sees the phenomena of beauty and art from the inside; and he is awed by the wonders of the universe. Schoen looks on the phenomena from the outside, and tries to gain some understanding of them for himself and others by compiling the statements of artists. He is awed by the mystery of the individual man, the artist. Mather proceeds empirically; Schoen proceeds by rationalizing. While Mather gives us "a ventilation rather than a systematization" of his theme, Schoen's work is a systematization rather than a ventilation. *Concerning Beauty* is a work of art in itself. *Art and Beauty* seems to be the report of a research worker in the social sciences on his discoveries among introspective data relative to his theme. In the former we are told that our subject is a branch of psychology, yet it is treated in a charming literary manner; in the other our subject is art and beauty yet the author tells us that his procedure will be scientific. The first is artistic; neither is scientific.

In a prefatory note Schoen explains: "I have tried to present in an unpretentious, and in as brief, concise, and clear a manner as is within my power, what I have learned after years of sincere searching, about art, artists, and artistic activity, from.... the

creators themselves. I have done so, in so far as I have deemed it advisable, in the words of the original writers...." In fact, *Art and Beauty* might almost be thought of as an anthology from which the author has drawn his conclusions. His source material, therefore, is the introspection and self-observation of artists. Music, painting, and literature are the specific arts on which he focuses his attention.

An introductory chapter, entitled *The Nature and Objective of Aesthetics*, gives a defense of aesthetics and aestheticians against quoted criticisms by Clive Bell, Thomas Craven, Conrad Aiken, Walter Pater. The rest of the book is divided into two parts: *Art and the Artist*, *Art and the Layman*. The author's general procedure is to formulate certain questions to be answered—for instance, in regard to the nature of art—then to begin his search for answers with definitions by several creative workers. From those he deduces a plausible hypothesis, which he then examines in the light of more quotations and in the light of elementary psychology and philosophy. From all of this he synthesizes a conclusion which is later repeated as a summary.

Several definitions indicate Schoen's approach to his theme: "Beauty is an experience, while art is an activity. If the art activity is aroused by the experience of beauty, it may result in a product which constitutes an adequate record of that experience, in which case the product is an art work. For the creator.... an art work is a successful expression of an experience of beauty. For the layman an art work is any product which is an outgrowth of artistic activity and which arouses in him an experience of beauty.... Furthermore, there is beauty without art for both creator and appreciator.... The sphere of beauty is co-extensive with the whole realm of experience, only a small fraction of which ultimately finds its expression in works of art." This, of course, is entirely different from Mather's point of view, as is Schoen's emphasis throughout his book on the absolute, intrinsic values of art and of beauty; and also on the absolute intrinsic value of the "self" of the artist. The "self" he defines as "the imagination" which is in opposition to the "practical consciousness" or the "non-self." For this reason, apparently, he lauds the present freedom of painters from any hampering commissions, and adds to the reams already written by protagonists of *l'art pour l'art*.

For artists of previous eras who functioned socially as well as artistically he has profound pity, because their art was "subservient to religious, moralistic, and political objectives." He commends the modern painters' limitless variety of subject matter, the metrical freedom of the free-verse movement, and "naturalistic novelists." He rates specific arts as to their purity (complete identification of form and content) and as to their richness (nearness of the subject matter to the actual with resulting greatness of the artistic transformation). Music is most pure; poetry most rich.

One rather unusual idea which he advances is that both thought and feeling are eliminated in the experience of beauty. For art is a release; it emancipates the subject from thought and emotion. "Beauty is the negation of mental and emotional activity, to which is due its peace-giving power." In this opinion he differs from Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Mather. Evidently, for Schoen, art and beauty exist in a partia

vacuum: the object is there, the subject is there; but both are stripped of all background, physical and psychical, past and present.

Aesthetics, he designates as a science in and of itself. Because of that, his logic is free from criticism by any save aestheticians. Concerning the relation of psychology to aesthetics he believes that psychology, with philosophy, is an important source from which to draw reliable data for a science of aesthetics, but that it is not the principal source. The artists themselves are that.

Mather, on the other hand, lays himself open to criticism for he defines aesthetics as a branch of psychology and then treats it not as a branch of modern psychology but as a branch of metaphysics with a few scientific-sounding interludes. Earlier aestheticians erred in the same way and to a greater extent, but they lived in the centuries of metaphysics. Today, with scientific method permeating all thinking, some critic or historian should be able to see the implications of psychology—as a biological science—for aesthetics. Contemporary aestheticians cite Grant Allen's work of 1867 as proof that physical science can contribute nothing to the understanding of art. They seem unaware of the fact that science has advanced and that it may throw light upon their realm of fancy. This "branch of psychology" Mather goes on to develop in the unscientific terminology which Woodworth's affable text has made popular in many liberal arts colleges. After reading Chandler's *Beauty and Human Nature* (1934), a mere summary of experiments made by psychologists in connection with art, Mather feels that scientific procedure will never be able to approach the great problems of art. But Chandler's book is not only a mere summary, but that of a philosopher rather than of a scientist.

The value of the comparatively few psychological experiments made up to date is negative. Now the way is cleared for controlled, biological, laboratory experiment. If a creative scientist working in the field of psychology should take time to write on art and aesthetics he would see beyond the entirely negligible experiments which have been performed so far by introspectionists and self-observationists to biological experiments which will inevitably be made in the future. Such experiments will contribute to the real analysis and description of those activities which make up the experience of beauty. The science of psychology, a branch of biology, will in the (not-near) future do to the mystery of art what the "physical sciences" have done to the religion of supernaturalism: make no claim to explain it, but take away its mystery; increase its wonder; describe and analyze it. It would be well if some contemporary aestheticians would acquaint themselves with the advance guard of psychology, and realize that their terminology is fast becoming obsolete except for purely literary folk.

NANCY MILLETTE

LOUIS SULLIVAN—PROPHET OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE. By Hugh Morrison. xiv, 391 pp.; 103 ills. New York, Museum of Modern Art and W. W. Norton & Co., 1935. \$4.

At last we have a worthy discussion of Sullivan, his life, his architecture, and his theory. In the account of Sullivan's early life, Professor Morrison

draws largely on *The Autobiography of an Idea*. The difference between the source and the secondary work lies in Morrison's compact treatment: where Sullivan is discursive, Morrison is concise; where the former pens a lyric account of his youthful impressions, the latter produces a simple narrative. The descriptions of Sullivan, based on the accounts of those who knew him well, create a vivid personality. Less satisfactory is the treatment of the later life, of which little seems to be known. Even though his personal tragedy did not affect his power of design, one would like to find confirmation or refutation of the unsavory rumors which have grown up around this part of Sullivan's career.

A large part of the book consists, quite properly, of a description and criticism of Sullivan's buildings, in which his development as an artist is made strikingly clear. Though the early influence of Richardson is apparent, this detracts in no way from Sullivan's own genius. The growth away from Richardsonian influence of the 1880's to a more personal expression in the 1890's is abundantly demonstrated. The author's keen critical sense and his conscientious accuracy in the estimate and discussion of each building will satisfy the general reader and even more completely the unprejudiced student.

In the very important matter of illustrations, comparison will show that they are the best which have yet been published with the exception of some few plates in the *Western Architect*. The eighty-seven reproductions grouped at the back of the book cover all the important buildings. On the other hand, one must deplore the exclusion, presumably for economy, of really detailed photographs. While it is true that the genius of Sullivan in decoration has tended to obscure his more important contributions to architecture, one cannot, nor does Morrison in the text, forget that he is also a great decorator. The details of cornice and arches in the National Farmers' Bank at Owatonna, Minnesota (pls. 71 and 73) merely whet one's appetite for still closer views. The single exception, the teller's window in the Owatonna Bank (pl. 74), is hardly enough to fill this need. A more serious matter is the paucity of plans. Although one may excuse the omission of plans of the other skyscrapers, since those for the Wainwright and Schiller buildings have been given, the lack of plans of other types of work is most unfortunate. Only one of the eight small banks has been so illustrated, that at Owatonna. Only one residence, and that in a microscopic plan, finds a place. Is there no change in planning in Sullivan's domestic architecture which would be worth demonstrating? Most serious is the absence of plans for the Auditorium Building, though one is grateful for the section of that most complex structure. Surely two or even three plans of this would be most desirable additions.

Sullivan's theory and his strictures on eclecticism have caused Professor Morrison to close his work with a discussion of the perplexing question of eclecticism and functionalism. The exposition of the usual defense of eclecticism is, on the whole, just, though one may question his statement that the uppermost flying buttresses of such a Gothic cathedral as Reims fail to meet the thrusts of the vault and are therefore antistructural. It is highly probable that this member was designed by the Gothic builders to strengthen the wall against wind pressure brought

to bear from the great roof above, and since this is a variable force, the concealed members connecting the uppermost pairs of fliers are essential.

Even if one should feel inclined to defend eclecticism, one could not here enter into such a defense, but two points demand a brief notice. After pointing to the common argument that the continuity of culture may be held to forgive our retaining reminiscences of the art of the past in work of the present day, Morrison attacks "the fairly frequent use of Islamic, Oriental, Maya-Aztec, and even Neolithic styles today, when the debt of modern culture to these sources is almost nil." Does not the incongruity of such alien styles tend to strengthen rather than to weaken the eclectic argument? If this feature of the brief for eclecticism is to be overthrown, it must be done by attacking the heart of the problem. One cannot condemn it even by the anachronisms of "Gothic" railroad stations or "Colonial" skyscrapers. It must rather be demonstrated that the problem of the home today is so utterly changed from that of former times as to demand a completely different solution; that modern religion is so entirely removed from the Christianity of the past as to require a radically new mode of expression. Nor does the spiritual and emotional character which Sullivan's concept of functionalism included necessarily invalidate this tenet of eclecticism. "Character" does not depend on "style." A domestic "character," for example, can be achieved in any style. That Sullivan achieved this quality does not show that McKim always missed it.

"Since the needs and problems of one age are different from those of another age, the architectural form will change correspondingly. Of course, this change will progress slowly, just as language and civilization develop slowly, and it is more important to respect the tradition of the past than to attempt to invent a new beauty without reference to that tradition." It appears, then, that the debt to the past must be acknowledged, but to what degree? No words are more freely used to damn eclecticism than "copy" and "imitation," but just what constitutes an imitation? Even the Nashville Parthenon, whose function, in part at least, was to be a copy, and which should be judged as such, has differences from the original which may compel it against its will to look contemporary American. Taking that as a starting point, however, and admitting it to be a copy, is the same true of the Lincoln Memorial, St. Thomas' Church and St. Bartholomew's Church in New York, the American Radiator Building, the church at Le Raincy, and the Tugendhat House at Brno? Just where in such a list, does a building cease to be a copy and

become an original work stimulating creative thought and imagination?

Finally, Sullivan says "the so-called styles were and are variants expressive of differences and changes in civilization," a statement with which one may heartily agree. But if that is true, is not eclecticism itself expressive of its own time? Sullivan, the progressive, shows one side of the Gay Nineties; Burnham, McKim, and Cram show another; neither side taken by itself would complete the picture. We may not agree with the conservative stand, but who are we to judge another age because its ideals were not like ours? We need not, should not, and have not retained those ideals or their expressions. We might not repeat the Lincoln Memorial today, but it surely itself differs from the work of McKim thirty years earlier. Let us not make the mistake that our predecessors have made by condemning the architecture of our fathers only to be condemned for that very judgment by our own children, when we too shall have become old-fashioned.

No two people will ever agree precisely on matters of architectural theory, but whether or not one feels that Morrison has succeeded in demolishing the dragon of eclecticism, if it is a dragon, his discussion is certainly stimulating. Moreover, it is but rarely that one finds a book which will be as useful as this. The inclusion of a short sketch of Adler's life, a list of Sullivan's buildings, a complete bibliography, and an index fill up the measure of its utility. When to this value is added the charm of lucid style, and when one finds that the biographical, descriptive, and critical requirements of the problem have been fulfilled to the complete satisfaction of any serious critic, one must agree that Morrison in writing, as Sullivan in architecture, has discovered that "form follows function."

EVERARD M. UPJOHN

ERRATA. — THE ART BULLETIN, XVII, 4, December, 1935:

P. 473, l. 3 ff. (*The Friedsam Annunciation*, by Erwin Panofsky) should read: "Some years before Jan van Eyck fell under the spell of the Méröde altarpiece, from which he took over the bourgeois interior arrangement of his Annunciation in the Ghent altarpiece, he had executed, around 1426/27, that other Annunciation now preserved in the Mellon collection (Fig. 22)."

P. 510, l. 2 f. (C. R. Morey's review of *Villard de Honnecourt*..., by H. R. Hahnloser), "as early as 1482" should read "as early as the seventeenth century."